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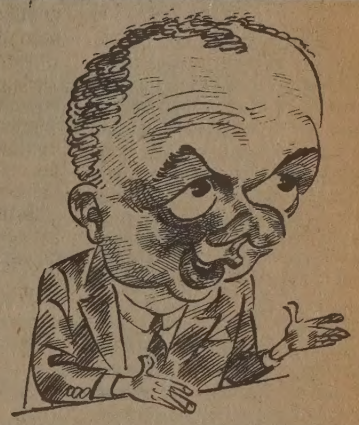
Cover photo by Alexei Kudenko



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Contrary to forecasts, Andrei Kozyrev managed to escape Mikhail Poltoranin's and Gennady Burbulis' lot. His office remains his...
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The sinister image of Novaya Zemlya attracts publicity men like a magnet

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Women seek out for their daily bread at a Moscow garbage dump

Nostalgia for dictatorship?

I was amazed and even angered when I learned that, according to opinion polls, 50 percent of Muscovites still regard the October 1917 revolution anniversary as "their holiday." No doubt even more victims of communist propaganda are to be found in the provinces. What's going on? Mental inertia? Callous indifference to the fates of millions of people crushed by "revolutionary changes"? Or stupidity inculcated by a totalitarian upbringing and education? Or is it the Philistine mentality of people who are scared of a return to totalitarian rule, when party bosses gave orders while the politically inert masses "unanimously" fulfilled them? I don't know but the whole issue makes me sick.

Konstantin Pushkar
student, St.Petersburg

"Unanimous approval" a fiction

Some say a glass is half empty while others that it is half full. It all depends on where you're looking from, and whether you're a pessimist or an optimist. You can find plenty of pessimists among democrats. The nostalgia shown by half of Muscovites for the October Revolution, and other socialist holidays, may seem depressing indeed. But let's look at the matter from a different angle. Some five years ago the figure would surely be close to 100 percent. Not only because all reverently cherished socialist values, but because they were "squashed" and cowed by the totalitarian system. More than 40 percent of respondents now freely say No to the October revolution, the Lenin-Stalin tyranny, jubilating over their own thraldom, servility to the powers that be. True, some people have not yet realized that they are free. This is no occasion for moaning, however. As the saying goes, everything in its own time. Personally, I have never believed in unanimous enlightenment nor in unanimous approval, as newspapers liked to report in the past.

Leonid Koval
engineer, Dnepropetrovsk

"Biological purifier"?

In your magazine (No. 38/92) I read an article about Andrei Chikatilo and came to the conclusion that he is absolutely innocent. He killed only mentally inferior, lewd people who led a depraved life, and this means he biologically purged the human race off the scum. Chikatilo can be convicted only for sexual imbalance. He was guided by the sense of civic duty. The women who give birth to defective children deserve more severe punishment than Chikatilo.

Azat Gainanov
poet, 28, Pavlodar Region

Birds of a feather

The publication in Russian of William Shirer's two-volume *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* certainly deserves serious consideration. The book, which reminds us of history's lessons, demonstrates that the black-shirted Nazis have something in common with "reds" of present-day Russia. In the diaries of Goebbels there are not a few entries indicating his sympathy for communism.

"In the final analysis," he wrote on October 23, 1925, "it will be better for us to cease our existence under Bolshevik power than it would to become slaves of capital." On January 1, 1926, Goebbels made another admission: "I think it is terrible that we (Nazis) and Communists thrash each other." At that time he wrote an open letter to a Communist Party leader. Goebbels alleged in it there was no difference between communism and Nazism. "There is a war between us, but, in fact, we are not enemies." Perhaps Goebbels had the gift of foresight.

B.Gilenson,
professor, Moscow

Idle rumours?

I would like to inform you that the US public is deeply concerned over rumours about the proposed sale by Russia of its surplus ballistic missiles and strategic Backfire bombers to China. Such a deal, allegedly being negotiated between Moscow and Beijing, would run counter to the spirit and letter of the recently signed agreement on the limitation of strategic armaments. We would like to receive assurances from Moscow that these rumours are unfounded. If not, we have the right to demand openly that the Russians, who badly need hard currency, cancel the deal. It appears, however, that you are not very willing to meet us halfway. It is a rather short-sighted policy in your position.

Ellen Lloyd,
public relations officer,
Brussels

"Yeltsin effect"

By banning the organizing committee of the National Salvation Front and, a year ago, the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and Russia, Yeltsin only hurts himself. He runs the risk of acquiring a not very attractive reputation as an authoritarian ruler. He forgets that shortsighted and clumsy moves by Gorbachev, who chastised Yeltsin for daring to make a bold speech at a party central committee meeting, and thus made him a hero.

A reputation as a rebel and advocate of the people's interests, created without foresight by party bosses, enabled Yeltsin to be elected to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and then to become Chairman of the Russian Parliament and, finally, President of Russia. Repressions against the National Salvation Front will merely enhance the popularity of this movement among the people. We could witness what I call the "Yeltsin effect": the more a person is persecuted by the authorities, the more ordinary people support him. Every step must be thoroughly considered in the political struggle. Gorbachev paid dearly for the political dilettantism he displayed in 1987. Being a clever politician, Yeltsin should learn from the mistakes of others before him.

Luis Gill,
professor,
Johannesburg, South Africa

THE WAY I SEE IT

Drawing by Marat Tairov

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Intelligentsia and reforms

"Moscow and St.Petersburg without tormented, gifted and talkative intelligentsia, that truly local phenomenon, is like Russia without birch-trees and snow," recently wrote *The Washington Post*. Hardly had snow crystallized the birch-trees when Russia's first Congress of Intelligentsia took place, in Moscow, closing right on the eve of the 7th Congress of People's Deputies. There is a certain inner logic in this coincidence, as well as in the fact that the general thesis to become the focus of discussion at the CPD was given a litmus test at the forum of intelligentsia. First among the points in the thesis is the principle of social consolidation on the basis of democratic changes and market-oriented reforms. The representatives of the intelligentsia confirmed their readiness to make their contribution to the consolidation of society on this basis and more than that: they are ready to expand on it.

Such a position is all the more remarkable for being taken by a social group which thus far has only suffered the burden of changes without enjoying its positive results. These changes and reforms have brought about a sharp fall in real salaries of not only the provincial doctors but also of famous academicians, they have led to a loss of savings and the threat of unemployment primarily among the most educated sector of the population.

Yet most important are not material losses Russian intellectuals have always been ready to put up with for the sake of spiritual values. There is a much more important reason for them to be disappointed. The reduction of subsidies for science, the commercialization of art, the hiking of paper prices and printing services have brought about the danger of the empoverishment of spiritual life and the threat of the devaluating of moral principles, which have since time immemorial been the object of special concern to the Russian intelligentsia.

Nevertheless, as the Moscow congress has demonstrated, they haven't sold out; they have demonstrated persistence and, one can even say, readiness for self-sacrifice, always their salient feature when Russia was in trouble. Wrong were those who, both in our country and abroad, profecied that with the coming of parliamentary democracy and market-oriented economy the historical mission of the Russian intelligentsia would be exhausted, its unique peculiarities unwanted by society and that the intelligentsia as such would die off, leaving relics of its existence in the form of Tolstoi's and Chekhov's books.

The traditions of the classical Russian intelligentsia haven't died; on the contrary, they have acquired a second breath after the collapse of communist ideology. More than that: the repressions it underwent during the years of Stalin's regime and the hardships of the subsequent years only seem to have made it still stronger. It has to a great extent gotten rid of such drawbacks as softness, lack of practicality, inclination to abstract thinking and extremes, having retained conscience and morality. This is the solution to the paradox now perplexing some foreign observers – a combination of "barbarous," at times even criminal ways specific to the period of "initial accumulation" along with the revival of religious influence by the Orthodox Church and other Christian, as well as Muslim, Buddhist and other faiths.

What can be more important now than religious and ethnic tolerance and recognition of equal rights for all nations, races and creeds? The Russian intelligentsia has preserved these ethical principles despite the hardest ordeals. And the fact that today the virus of aggressive nationalism isn't widespread on the territory of Russia proper, unlike many other "post-communist" countries, is largely to the intelligentsia's credit. Not to mention their role in the fact that with the fall of the "iron curtain" Russia is overcoming its isolation from the external world, gradually getting integrated into universal human civilization, in whose achievements the inelligentsia, unlike state structures, has always been interested. Now the time has come for the intelligentsia to help bring them to Russian soil and to choose those which have better chances of striking roots here.

It's not for nothing that the well-known French academician Hélène Carrère d'Encausse noted, among the most inspiring factors in contemporary Russia, "a very high standard of education in society" which, in spite of "demoralization and the unwillingness of the people to work, gives the country a chance for successful development and transition to democracy." Whether it will be possible to use this chance or not will largely depend on the intelligentsia

Dmitry Volsky

THIS WEEK

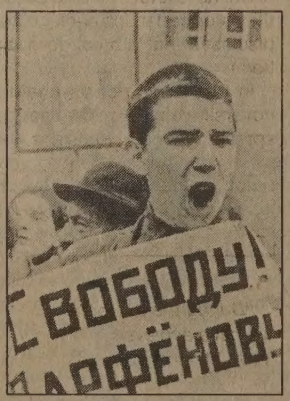
■ Addressing a forum, organized by Democratic Choice in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin made known his desire to form his own party. With the help of this party, the President said, he "is going to win in the confrontation with those who oppose his reform policy." Yeltsin clearly stated his intention to "remain loyal to his life's chief objective, namely, the revival of Russia, independent of any turns in its destiny."

Democratic Choice unites about 30 parties and public organizations supporting reforms. Members of the Democratic Russia movement constitute the backbone of this political bloc. In the opinion of observers, the President regards this movement as the basis of a new political force in Russia.

■ The Russian Parliament, at a joint sitting of its chambers, discussed the government's program of urgent measures for overcoming the crisis in the country. Putting the program before the legislators, Gaidar stressed that it was not an alternative to the medium-term government program of reforms. The aim of the document is to specify its main provisions and set out the priority tasks to be tackled next year.

■ The Constitutional Court has adopted a ruling on the constitutionality of Yeltsin's decrees under which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Russia were banned and their property confiscated. The court virtually did not consider the question of declaring the CPSU unconstitutional. It explained that the CPSU had already practically broken up, while the Communist Party of Russia had not yet been officially registered at the time of banning. The court reaffirmed Yeltsin's ban on the activity of the former leading bodies of both parties but simultaneously recognized as constitutional the activity of their local organizations. In accordance with the ruling, all property disputes must be settled in each case through local courts.

■ The Latvian Parliament has turned down the Russian Parliament's request for allowing Parfenov, the former head of the special task-force police unit, to return home. It declared that only law rules in the republic. The same approach was also adopted by Anatoly Gorbunov, Chairman of the Latvian Parliament, whose reply to Boris Yeltsin's similar request has been widely published. This, however, did not prevent Gorbunov from citing unproved data on crimes allegedly committed by the special unit under Parfenov's command.



"Set Parfenov free!" demand demonstrators before the Latvian Embassy in Moscow

In his last words, Parfenov did not plead guilty. Gorbunov wrote in his reply to Yeltsin that at the time of arrest, Parfenov was not a citizen of Russia. Parfenov noted that under Latvian laws, he would indeed be "no one" till this day. Russia was the only republic of the former Union which granted citizenship to all people who didn't receive it in their places of residence. Such was the law in force at the time of his arrest.

■ The question of granting a licence to the development and exploitation of the Shtokman gas condensate deposit has at last been settled. Boris Yeltsin signed a decree under which all rights to this deposit, among the largest in the world, have been given to the joint-stock society, Russian Company for the Development of the Shelf (Rosshelf), which unites 19 elite industrial enterprises.

The arrow in the upper part of the chart indicates the Shtokman deposit

The Shtokman deposit, situated on the Russian shelf in the Barents Sea, is considered the richest in the region and very complex for development technically. The geological reserves of gas are estimated at three trillion cubic metres and the potential annual output at 50 billion cubic metres. In the opinion of experts, 10 to 12 billion dollars will have to be invested in the Rosshelf project.

■ Boris Yeltsin, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, addressed a special meeting of the board of Russia's Defence Ministry.

He promised to do everything possible for Russia to have a modern army equal to its great-power status and demanded that ministry leaders complete work on framing the military doctrine of the state. After the discussion and adoption of the military doctrine, a new, well-thought-out distribution of troops must be ensured.

Yeltsin stressed the need to raise mobile rapid deployment forces to help Russia ensure her military effectiveness in any explosive region. "Fratricidal conflicts must not be allowed to expand and destabilize the situation in Russia," he said.

Russia's military budget for 1993, the President disclosed, will remain at the present level in comparable prices. The expenditure on the purchase of equipment is to rise by 10 percent from the 1992 figure.

■ The economic crisis, which hit hard at higher education, impelled the rectors of Russian colleges and universities to combine their efforts for the legal and social protection of the education system. They recently met in Moscow for their first congress sponsored by the newly formed Russian Union of Rectors.

The new union, as one of the speakers put it, has to become a sort of scientific council under the Committee for Institutions of Higher Education. The latter will be an independent body.

In his address to the congress, Yeltsin said he had signed a decree on turning the land and fixed assets over to colleges and universities for permanent use free of charge, and promised to support the request to the legislators for granting tax privileges to institutions of higher education. He confirmed the decision to give students a deferment from military service. As of December 1, student grants have been increased, while the transition to a common tariff rate will lead to the doubling of the teachers' salaries.

THIS WEEK

■ The results of the first All-Russian Congress of Commodity Producers indicate a regrouping of forces among the directors and managers in their relationship with the government.

The Congress formed a Confederation of Commodity Producers and adopted a package of measures for stabilization and overcoming the crisis in the Russian economy. However, the document contains little fundamentally new ideas and proposals in comparison with the program of the Civil Union.

The Congress and its decisions have much in common with the Congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs held several days earlier.

The establishment of the Confederation of Commodity Producers was sponsored by the Industrial Union faction and the Supreme Economic Council under the Presidium of the Russian Parliament. For this reason it will apparently be less inclined to a compromise with the government.

■ The beginning of talks between field commanders of the conflicting parties and the newly elected republican leaders was the main event in Tajikistan this week. Having discussed the situation, behind closed doors, the field commanders concluded a cease-fire agreement.

In the meantime, the Russian government backed the Tajik leaders' proposal for raising collective peace-keeping forces. Boris Yeltsin made known this decision in his telegram to I.Rakhmonov, chairman of the Tajik Parliament. Similar messages had been sent by the Russian President to the leaders of Uzbekistan, Kyrghyzstan and Kazakhstan. Though the date of moving peace-keeping forces into the conflict zones has not been set, it seems that some progress has been achieved in stabilizing the situation and ending hostilities in Tajikistan.

■ Ukraine has set a sad record for instability in its higher echelons of power. Another chairman of the National Bank, a symbol of economic stability in any state, has resigned this year.

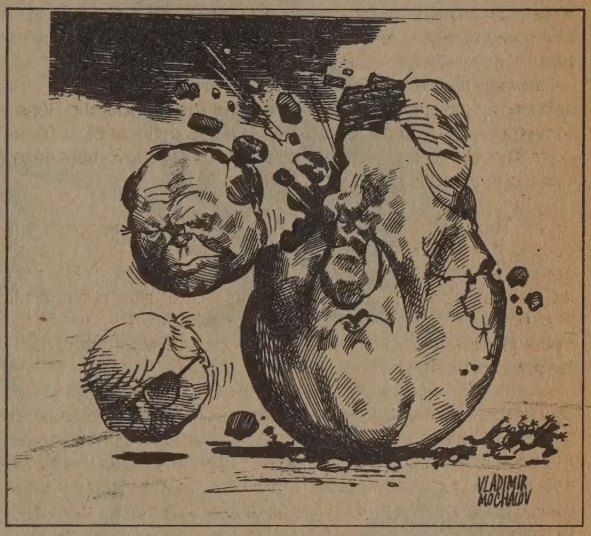
The resignation of Vadim Getman, Chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine, was announced by Ivan Plyushch, Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament. The Speaker said Getman resigned because he proved unable "to ensure the normal functioning of the financial and credit system" of the republic.

■ The personnel of the Gagarin pit in Gorlovka, the Donetsk coal basin, have decided to restore the tradition of competition. However, it will be purely commercial, and not a socialist, competition. The idea is to distribute the material wealth depending on the results of miners' work. For instance, a coal hewer who fulfils two and a half output norms during three months will have the right to buy scarce goods at 1990 prices. On the list of these goods are motor cars, refrigerators, video tape recorders, TV sets and washing machines. The difference in the cost of goods for top-rate workers is to be compensated from the funds of the pit concerned.

■ Eduard Shevardnadze, Chairman of Georgian Parliament, revealed in an interview on Tbilisi Radio that he was recently baptized in a cathedral of the Georgian Orthodox Church. He was given a new name, Georgy.

■ It was a bad night for the residents of Krasnoyarsk. Late at night, it seemed the devil began to play his pranks in that Siberian city with a population of nearly a million. Ripples spread on TV screens. Radio kept silent and trolleybuses stopped. In some flats, the light went out, while in others it suddenly blazed and not only lamps but also electrical appliances burnt out. Here and there burglar alarms went off.

CARTOON OF THE WEEK



Drawing by Vladimir Mochalov

But that's not all. According to information received by the local radio, anomalous phenomena were observed everywhere in the city. Light and some charts appeared on the screens of TV sets which had been switched off. Electronic clocks stopped and colour spots appeared in the sky. Lightning flashed. An unidentified flying object landed in a courtyard in the Berezin Street and lit up windows with a blue ray. A lot of versions were given to explain these phenomena. One of the most widespread versions alleged that the end of the world was approaching.

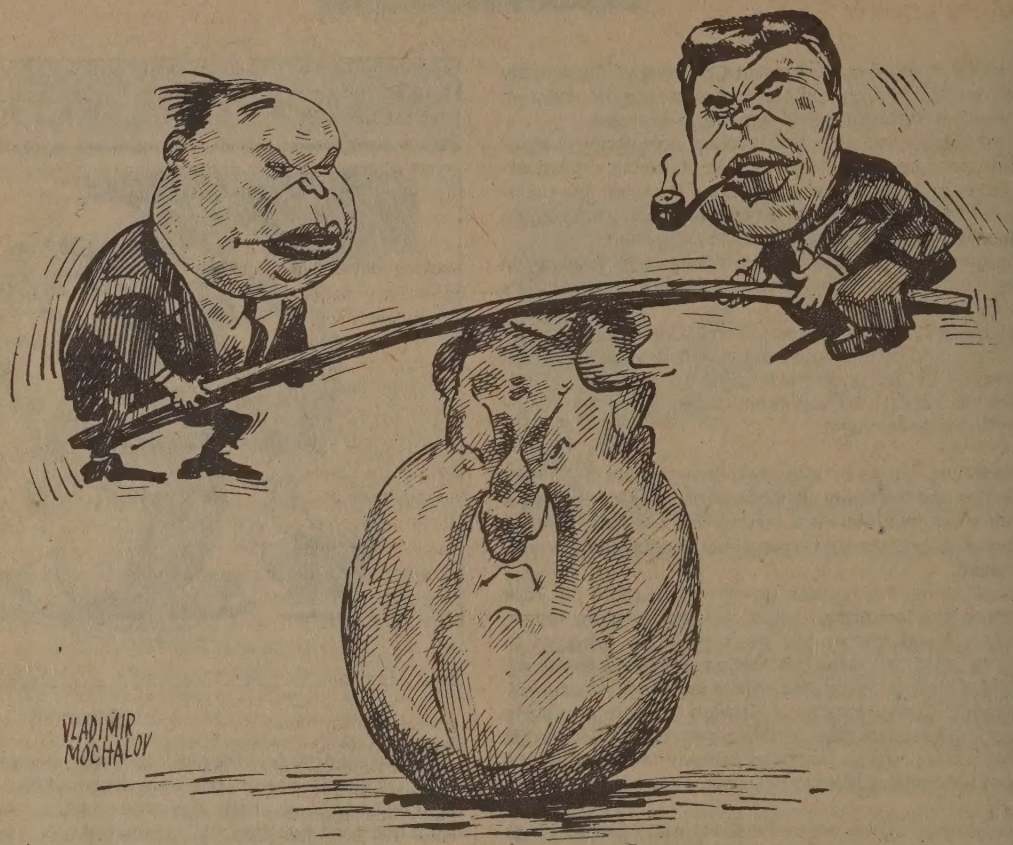
But as is known, miracles last only seven days. In Krasnoyarsk, they stopped much earlier. The citizens went to bed after the radio disclosed that a breakdown had occurred at one of the substations.

In the opinion of psychologists, the disturbing night in Krasnoyarsk was a sign that apocalyptic sentiments are increasingly spreading among Russians.

Quotation of the week

"During the past year, called the year of reforms, the only thing we have achieved is a continuation of glasnost and the desire for truth. The monetary reform has failed. The volume of production is dwindling. The commodity-goods situation is absolutely poor. The standard of living has dropped sharply. But even our sole achievement – truth – gained at a very high price, also seems now as if to be disappearing from our life. With greater or lesser confidence, I have always supported the fundamental policy of the Russian President. Today I can't say that."

Yelena Bonner,
widow of Academician Andrei Sakharov



Post-Congress life?

The closer the Congress drew, the more people wondered how it would end.
Would the reformers lose?
Or would they stay in the saddle?
Before the Congress they lost out

However, just a few days before the Congress opened, the President took several steps that had been anticipated, some with apprehension, others with impatience. The series of governmental sackings and reshuffles and the abrupt repositioning of pieces on the political chessboard generated a novel situation.

What really was this? An earnest that the policy would change as the Civic Union wanted? A step back, followed by two steps forward? Or did it all indicate that the President was sacrificing political figures to preserve his king, the cabinet of economic reform?

Regional Party secretary again?

Amidst Democrats the sacking of Yegor Yakovlev and Mikhail Poltoranin and the recedence of Gennady Burbulis provoked frankly voiced alarm. All the recent changes in the President's entourage, including the exits of Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyaev, Valery Tishkov and Galina Starovoitova showed that Yeltsin was shedding Democrats.

What we actually see today is the first serious rocking of Yeltsin's authority that we are accustomed to identify with democracy. Democratic Russia caught up Yeltzin as its standard, when he dropped out of the Communist Party elite. The Democrats campaigned throughout the length and breadth of Russia exhorting electors to rally around Yeltsin. They installed him as President, secured victory for him in his ruthless competition with Gorbachev, built up a bulwark for him during the putsch, and despite desperate resistance, got the democratic reform going, a reform which, however you look at it, has already changed Russia and has good chances of winning out. By now, though Democratic Russia is petering out, is bedevilled by squabbles and its influence in Parliament is virtually nil. Back in 1989, Yeltsin was embraced by the democratic movement largely by chance. So has the time now come for a parting of the ways? Is Yeltsin going back to what he had been before?

The Yegor Yakovlev sacking, decided in a purely regional Communist Party Secretary style, with Galazov's complaint unceremoniously followed by "I'll sack him today!" was largely reminiscent of the old times inducing the sad conclusion that it is hard to say how democratic Yeltsin is.

This is of course enheartening for many current oppositionists who fear not Yeltsin, but the influential reformers in his entourage. At every stage of the struggle waged over the last few months against the Foreign Minister, the State Secretary and the Gaidar team, they have said that the President should not be confused with the government and that if Yeltsin changed his cabinet, they would have nothing against him. So said the Communist Baburin and the nationalist Sterligov.

The recent split in the government and in Yeltsin's entourage between the radicals and the diehards has surfaced. Such is the interpretation we can put on the joint statement of the four, to wit Burbulis, Poltoranin, Kozyrev and Chubais. Even earlier each of the four issued warnings from time to time as to the menace of "revanche," an "impending dictatorship" and the "red-brown danger." As one will see, the Yeltsinites are disunited and soon will never club together.

As Burbulis has put it, "the frontline" today lies not between the President and the government on the one hand, and the deputies on the other. Wrangling with increasing bitterness are reformers and conservatives in the Supreme Soviet and within the President's entourage.

Gennady BURBULIS, who always irked the deputies, always stood out of reach.

Parliament, though against a Russian presidency, was obliged to count with popularly elected Yeltsin; however, it was reluctant to tolerate his right-hand man. The issue of Burbulis's resignation was raised at each congress. With admirable doggedness, the deputies demanded his ouster from the corridors of power.

What annoyed Parliament above all was that Burbulis, while exerting authority, was accountable to no one save the President, that there was a time when the influence he had on Yeltsin was unshared, while Yeltsin kept devising more and more new offices for him, demonstrating fantastic ingenuity, though evidently assisted here by Burbulis himself. Thus, he was plenipotentiary representative of the Parliamentary Speaker and head of the State Council, First Vice-Premier, State Secretary of the Russian Federation and State Secretary attached to the President. Today he has been installed as chief of the Presidential team of advisers.

By now the Deputies may quieten down, inasmuch as Burbulis who at the outset had his head turned by vainglorious ambition, that compelled him to accept offices with loud-sounding titles and surround himself with attributes of power, has receded into the background. So have they got what they wanted?

Regardless of how Burbulis is titled, he directed Yeltsin's brain trust, was his chief of staff and basic strategist and organizer. He has retained opportunities to exert ideological influence on the President, inasmuch as surprise political notions have always been his forte. In that respect he has no rival in Yeltsin's entourage. Neither Skokov nor Petrov, nor Lobov are up to furnishing the President with doctrine or ideology. Hence the deputies are prematurely gleeful.

Few expected Yeltsin to discard **Mikhail POLTORANIN,** who as everybody said, was his staunchest friend, ever with Yeltsin in victory and defeat.

This professional journalist, who worked on the *Pravda* staff, was appointed editor-in-chief of *Moskovskaya Pravda* when Yeltsin took over as head of the Moscow City CPSU Committee. Abrupt and straightforward, he was like the new party chief even in character. No wonder he had to quit after Yeltsin's ouster.

On the other hand, he was allotted a post in the very first Russian cabinet that Yeltsin formed. Over the year he was in charge, the Russian television was organized, several new newspapers were started, and a liberal press law was enacted. His ministry also began to subsidize newspapers and magazines in the red.

It was only natural for Poltoranin to become minister for the press as he himself was a professional journalist and newspaper editor with much to his credit in his struggle against the CPSU's omnipotence and the totalitarian clampdown on the press. For many colleagues his appointment was seen as a guarantee of freedom of speech.

However, the profession of "an old comrade" appears not always a necessity in government, especially at a time of crisis and political upheaval.

Poltoranin does not mince words, but displeasure with his statements boomeranged against the President, whom he involved in the *Izvestia* wrangle. However, Khasbulatov managed to outplay the President. Now that Poltoranin has gone, the democratic press might feel unshielded, with less of a link with the President. Still, an old comrade remains that and scarcely will Poltoranin part with Yeltsin.

Deputy appetites still great

One is obliged to discard that lovely hypothesis presuming that Yeltsin is sacrificing the men whose heads Parliament craves in order to preserve the reformist government, especially the economist team. We now know for certain that offers to take over from Gaidar were made yet before the Congress to Yuri Ryzhov, the present Ambassador to France, and Yuri Skokov, the present Secretary of the Security Council.

There are certain signs showing that Yeltsin believes compromise looming in the shape of agreement with the body of managerial executives and with Khasbulatov, who in response to the government's accepting some planks of their platform, have promised not to pose the issue of non-confidence vote in Gaidar and prolong the President's additional powers. However, the Congress may at any time swing to this side or that and dynamite this agreement which the deputies have not guaranteed to back.

Khasbulatov's intimations in his pre-Congress television interview that though he has nothing against Gaidar, he would prefer to see him an ordinary cabinet minister, indicate that the Congress may go several ways. At any rate, the proposal that Gaidar serve as minister under Volsky, Khasbulatov or Shumeiko only implies that Gaidar and his "boys" are being elbowed out into voluntary retirement to the accompaniment of bombast that men must be cherished and that Gaidar has greatly "grown" since the tail-end of last year.

Yeltsin is manifestly and unambiguously shirking confrontation with the deputies even to a point where he might concede on issues of top principle, notably of reform.

The Right-wing pressure toughens

The entire year was replete with persistent rumours, which none of the President's statements and denials have dispersed that Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev will go. Rumours of this nature are a tried and tested means of bringing pressure to bear on a politician.

Kozyrev has been accused of toadying to the West, of encouraging CIS members in detriment to Russia's interests and of taking too soft a stand with respect to the ex-Union republics where rights of Russophones are infringed.

He is also too moderate as regards territorial disputes with other states. The Deputies would prefer to see a "strong man" or in general somebody else replace him at the Foreign Office, as that is a post any oppositionist would enjoy. Even before the previous Congress, the President took preliminary steps to soften the deputies: thus, that selfsame Gennady Burbulis resigned as first Vice-Premier, the former Party functionary Yuri Petrov asked to be relieved of his duties as the President's chief of staff, which, incidentally, was a sop to the Democrats, while Sergei Shakhrai resigned as Vice-Premier. Though gratified to see the much hated Burbulis and Shakhrai ousted from power structures, the Congress nevertheless called for the heads of all others. In short, they were not pacified. Yeltsin's backing down only increased their appetites.

For ministerial posts

By backing down to preserve the stability of power and the reform policy, Yeltsin may

Though **Yegor YAKOVLEV** has been disgraced time and again and scarcely thought he would head Ostankino television for long, he certainly could not foresee so humiliating a sacking.

As a star editor, he carved a career out for himself at an early age. After serving as *Sovietskaya Rossia's* deputy editor-in-chief, he was appointed a member of the *Pravda* Editorial Board, a nomenklatura office sanctioned exclusively by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. He organized the magazine *Zhurnalist*, but being overly forward, quickly lost his job.

For years he wrote books and made documentaries (later he will become a People's Deputy from the USSR Film Makers' Union) about Lenin, which Soviet liberals often did then as glorification of Lenin's human features was regarded as combatting Stalinism.

In 1986, Alexander Yakovlev, the CPSU Central Committee's new ideology secretary, brought him back from Prague to which he had been posted as *Izvestia* correspondent, and appointed him *Moscow News* editor-in-chief.

In this office, Yegor Yakovlev transformed this export publicity sheet into a symbol of *glasnost*. From the editorship of a newspaper that so often annoyed Gorbachev he went up to membership in the Presidential Council. After the putsch fiasco, Gorbachev appointed him head of sound and TV broadcasting. Though this was odd for a never-tiring oppositionist, his ambitious nature and feeling that *Moscow News* had passed its peak, induced him to accept the offer.

He found himself at the head of Union Sound and Television Broadcasting at the time when the Union had disintegrated, and futilely sought to make of Ostankino an interstate company which all the ex-Union republics would finance. In this connection many claimed that this was out of question as all the proprietors would demand loyalty, but it would be impossible to reconcile conflicting viewpoints. It seems they were right.

Though Yakovlev's sacking has not enhanced Yeltsin's popularity, it has definitely brought back Yakovlev's old image.

confuse himself. His concessions, some of which are rather hazardous, make him hostage to this logic and as a result, he might fail to notice how quantity may become quality here and thus drive reform into stagnation or regress.

What then could give the reform policy a second lease on life? What then could again radicalize the economic and political process? The nation's political energy is petering out. The West will not help: even today it is not handing out any money. That it will not furnish any money in the event of change is certainly not much of an incentive. Obviously only major social upheavals could impel a second wave of reform. Fear of social shocks due to overly fast reform may entail the same result even should there be nothing of this sort.

The Congress is pregnant with one more danger for the President. Until lately only Democrats comprised his consistent following. He owed his popularity largely to his association with reform and democratic ideas. However, the sacking of some Democrats has already caused many Democratic Russia supporters and a section of the democratic press to hesitate. Will Yeltsin find himself faced with a democratic opposition into the bargain besides the rabid pseudo-spiritual opposition and the more respectable middle-of-the-way opposition?

The middle-of-the-way men from among the managerial executives have a stake in an alliance with Yeltsin only until, having exploited every means of pressure on Yeltsin, they secure key ministerial posts to themselves. The fact that to blackmail the President they even stoop to links with the Russian Unity national patriots shows that they are pretty unscrupulous. Yeltsin now plans to organize his own party and has entrusted the matter again to Gennady Burbulis.

Though Burbulis is a capable organizer, from amongst whom will he recruit a following for Yeltsin? Ideologies and supporters have already been shared out. Yeltsin, who parted with the Communists but did not link up with the Democrats and shied away from the National Patriots will scarcely be able to secure a political niche for himself. He can only hope for irrational admirers of his personal charisma. But how many are there? One hears all over former Yeltsinites admitting that were an election to take place today, they would not cast their votes for him.

Seeking at any price to avoid conflict with the Deputies, Yeltsin may put to the test the stability of his own authority and his own political image as a reformer – today his basic asset, both inside and outside Russia.

Marina Shakina

Russian MP **Galina STAROVOITOVA,** the President's adviser on inter-ethnic relations was shocked when sacked without explanations.

In his time Yeltsin had brought her into his entourage thinking she could bring him votes, and not only from among liberal intellectuals. Indeed, in 1989 and 1990, as a Union MP from Armenia, this lady, who had been on the staff of the Academy of Sciences Centre for research in interethnic relations, had been a most noticeable figure on the new political scene.

An erudite confident speaker with a good voice, she presented well on the television screen, always having something interesting and daring to say, and was very popular.

However, her job as presidential adviser was more prestigious than productive. Over her year in this office, she did not break into Yeltsin's immediate entourage. What irked the President was the talk that she was overly pro-Armenian and too much of a globe-trotter.

Though Yeltsin was not involved in the sacking of 35-year-old **Arkady MURASHOV,** his erstwhile colleague in the interregional deputy group, from his job as chief of Moscow's Police Department, this dismissal of one of the few democrats from a prominent office must have come as a rather unpleasant pill.

Murashov's lot was pre-ordained when Gavriil Popov quit as Moscow's mayor. Yuri Luzhkov never liked Murashov, while the Russian Interior Ministry had always sought to get rid of this liberal stranger in its ranks.

This smiling-faced young research associate at the academic High Temperatures Institute easily won a seat as a USSR People's Deputy from a Moscow constituency. He subsequently coordinated the interregional deputy group of whom Boris Yeltsin was one of the co-chairmen.

However, he evidently lacked the ambition to continue as a politician and the craftiness of an *apparatchik* to stay on as Moscow's chief cop.

His sacking shows that no team of democrats exists; only a few lone rangers, whom it is easy enough to oust.

Century's trial: not a bang but a whimper

The trial has fulfilled its duty and, possibly, has demonstrated wisdom. Yet society is disappointed

The case of the CPSU is closed, the verdict of the Constitutional Court is not subject to revision: the President's decrees on the suspension of the activities of the Communist Parties of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, their property and activity have been recognized 90 percent constitutional.

The hearings of the other complaint, about non-constitutionality of the CPSU as such, were stopped for the absence of an object of investigation, since the CPSU had ceased to exist and the Russian Communist Party had never been legally registered.

There are a couple of clauses in the verdict which can be interpreted in favour of the Communists. The first of them concerns the Party's property. The Court's judgement was that the part of the property which belonged to the state is affected by the decree and must be returned to the state. The rest of it, directly owned by the CPSU or whose owner has not been established, is nor affected by the decree.

All this might have been inspiring to the Communists if not for a small detail – the question of property will be heard in the economic arbitration court. Who will represent the CPSU there?

A group of deputies is insufficient there. The CPSU property interests can be defended by a legal or natural person recognized by the Court as the CPSU's legal successor.

But the major problem is that the Party's economic affairs are in the most confused state; the sources of its material existence, the origin of its incomes and real estate are obscure. For instance, some property is of a "historical origin"; to put it bluntly, it was simply misappropriated in the days of the revolution and the years of totalitarianism. The court of arbitration will have to investigate each particular case in the minutest detail, and possibly for years.

There is also one more bit of news joyous to Communists – recognized as unconstitutional are only the organizational structures of the two Communist Parties, i.e., district and regional Party committees, etc., while the territorial Party cells (not those in work collectives!) have the full right to exist. As it seems, neither democrats nor conservatives or patriots may have anything against this: ideology can't be banned. Territorial Party cells are extremely few since the Party was organized in accordance with the "industrial" principle and they embrace mostly those on pension. However, today nothing prevents others from joining them.

"We'll revive the Party!" said Communists after the process, joyfully shaking each other's hands. Well, you are welcome! Let's hope that this time they will make something more decent.

One has to admit, however, that on the whole the trial was not successful. The people lost all interest in it after the first two sessions. Even the judges proved unable to undo the knot of contradictory proofs, escaping numerous catches.

In order to avoid being drowned in historical speculations and in arguments of not legal but moral and political nature, the Court decided to simply cut off the second issue, the constitutionality of the CPSU. Actually, it simply dodged the problem. The judges may be blamed for being overly cautious, which may be wise after all – it's better than making a lot of mistakes each of which may acquire the significance of a precedent, a reference-point in legal practice.

The rights of citizens who are CPSU members have been protected. Their ideology hasn't been banned. The organizational structures deemed criminal by many have been abolished. The Court has fulfilled its duty, but society will be disappointed.

Much more was expected from the Court, with a good reason or otherwise. Democrats expected a general statement on the criminal totalitarian practice; Communists, apparently, apologetic sentences.

Judges, for all their efforts, can't be free from the pressure of the reality. One of the first questions to intrigue the press after the verdict was announced was whether the results of the trial could be used for the impeachment of the President. The answer was: a special decision by the Court is necessary for impeachment, and not separate court rulings on this or that case.

The trial of the century wasn't a success, but it's good at least that an attempt was made – in our country such problems have never been solved in a legal way. This is a nice precedent. It's nice that there is power authorized to exercize control over the legal activity of the country's highest dignitary. In an extreme situation it can even initiate the impeachment procedure. It's a pity, however, that the President will, in this case, be more vulnerable than other branches of power.

For instance, Ruslan Hasbulatov is not only an economist, but also a lawyer, but the Speaker himself, as well as the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, not infrequently violate the Constitution by their orders and decrees, yet they can't be legally called to account. Maybe, it's worthwhile to remove this bias and endow the Constitutional Court with the right to dismiss Parliament if it violates the Constitution?

In short, the Court copes with its business more or less successfully; although not without mistakes, it brings the country to the ideal of a law-governed state.

Marina Shakina

Drawing by Marat Tairov

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On guard of national property

A Soex certificate means high quality and reliability

Soex is an abbreviated name for Soyuzexpertiza, a reputable organization under the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Russian Federation. In a talk with our correspondent its director-general **Leonid IMENIN** and **Raisa PROZOROVA,** director of one of its firms, Interyer (Interior), discuss the affairs of the association and its firm.

At a time when other organizations are trying to get rid of the word "Soyuz," which means Union and is associated with the Soviet Union, you have retained it, and you seem at peace with the name.

Imenin. The name Soyuzexpertiza has no relation to the Soviet Union. It is a union of independent experts who receive no money from the state and fulfil the requests of clients for a payment. Besides, it is not reasonable to change a name well known in the world. Thanks to the high professionalism of its employees Soex has gained recognition on the world market. In the last few years we have been awarded two prestigious prizes: the 16th international prize "For the best trade name" in Madrid in 1991, and the XXth Golden Trophy for Quality, also in Madrid, this year.

Our association consists of ten firms specializing in product and service quality control. The modern high standard of inspection has been repeatedly confirmed by Lloyd's Register of Britain, Bureau Veritas of France, and other leading inspection companies. The ten firms of the association exercise control in the field of industrial machines, raw materials, power-plant engineering, chemical products, and so on. The names of some of them – Intex, Galant, Test, Agro, Silhouette and, of course, Interyer – give an idea of its respective line of activity.

All your firms are in Moscow. But suppose government, commercial and other organizations situated in other cities would like to have an expert's opinion on one or another question. What can they do?

Imenin. We are now forming the holding structure of Soex. Its joint-stock associated companies have been opened in Lithuania (BaltSoex), Latvia (VentSoex), Nalchik (KabardaSoex), Kemerovo (KuzbasSoex), Yakutsk (YakutSoex), Nakhodka (DalSoex) and Makhachkala (DagSoex). We allow our regional experts to work with their clients independently. Moscow experts are ready to go at first request to those regions and cities where Soex does not have associated companies. In the capital we have a laboratory to which a questioned sample or specimen can be sent for analysis.

Who are your clients?

Imenin. Organizations engaged in export-import operations are our most frequent customers. We render various services – from the fixing of prices for goods with regard to the world level to controlling the quality of goods bought abroad. Among our permanent clients are exchanges, broker's offices and insurance companies. At the request of the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange, Moscow Commodity Exchange, Russian Paper Exchange and other exchanges we determine the commercial value of goods and their correspondence in terms of quality with normative documents. For the leading insurance companies ASCO, Progress and the Russian Insurance Transport Company we determine the size of damage, the technical state and value of insured or damaged products.

Imported is not always equivalent to good quality

The quality of home-made products has been criticized very often. Are there problems with the quality of imported goods?.

Imenin. Unfortunately, we have such problems. It is said that a bad example is catching. The same refers to some of the foreign companies. This year our experts rejected large consignments of shoes bought in Austria, Belgium, Sweden and Japan and knitted garments from Austria, Syria, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Their quality was beneath any standard. I would like to stress that the food bought by Russia abroad and humanitarian aid are thoroughly checked by experts of our association. If inferior goods are discovered damage claims are drawn up. Incidentally, few companies dispute them. A claim allows the recipient to take the matter to court.

Do joint ventures apply to you for help?

Imenin. Almost all joint ventures are our clients. We help them solve such problems as the fixing of prices for goods with regard to world prices, the determining of the completeness and quality of imported goods in relation to the terms set in contracts, the customs declaring of goods, the check-up of the technical state of complex household appliances, and so on. We have inspected equipment for industrial projects in Finland (for the Lovisa atomic power plant and several heat and power plants), Argentina, Algeria, Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq and Nigeria, and raw material products exported to Italy, Belgium, Germany, Iceland, Spain and other countries.

Jointly with Switzerland, Soex has founded two inspection enterprises Sojex (50 percent of authorized capital, 200,000 rubles) and SJS-Sovenergodiagnostika (10 percent of capital, 450,000 rubles).

Not infrequently journalists also resort to our aid. We met the requests of the *News*, *Theme* and other television programmes and closely cooperate with the police, prosecutors and customs officials.

Soex employees visit not only enterprises and company offices but also international exhibitions held in Russia and abroad. One of the largest exhibitions of consumer goods, Consumexpo-92, brought together many firms. Together with the Moscow Union of Consumers we organized a show-competition of collections and samples of goods displayed by foreign firms. Our aim was to choose firms whose products would meet the criteria of the Russian markets by their consumer qualities. Fifty-one firms received our "diplomas," meaning the road to Russian consumers is open before them.

You said that Soyuzexpertiza is an independent organization. How to understand the fact that it is incorporated in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Russia?

Imenin. Soex is indeed incorporated in the Chamber. However, it is not subordinate to the Chamber in the professional, economic or financial spheres. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry is an independent public organization or, more exactly, a body of business circles, a community of entrepreneurs. It represents the interests of Russian producers and tradesmen within the country and abroad, and of foreign businessmen in the Russian Federation. This approach is fully in keeping with the concept of Soyuzexpertiza's activity, and therefore we shall maintain close contacts with the Chamber.

We have now entered the stage of "voucherization," and it is necessary to evaluate real estate, machines and other equipment. Is your staff ready for such an examination?

Imenin. It is ready, of course. Time is pressing, and we are reorganizing our work

Raisa Prozorova and Leonid Imenin: "Our motto is Impartiality" *Photo by Alexander Chernykh*

too. At present, we conduct similar examinations mainly at the request of insurance agencies and banks. They must know the real value of property to begin with. They must be confident that a client is solvent and reliable. Banks take account of this factor in determining the interest rate and even the term of a credit. Incidentally, shares, vouchers (privatization cheques) and other securities form a market which Russia is unaccustomed to. The emergence of this market creates the problem of protecting it against mass-scale counterfeiting. We have set up a special firm, NormaSoex, to examine the blanks of securities and determine how they are protected against counterfeiting and even how long they can be used in circulation.

Is there a set rate for the services of an expert inspector?

Imenin. Everything depends on how complex an examination is. For instance, a foreign expert receives 35 dollars for an hour of work, our expers received 82 rubles 50 copecks till October 1992. The rate is naturally increased if an expert has a complex request requiring a large expenditure of chemical reagents, an intensive exploitation of laboratory equipment, or drawing on the knowledge of more specialists.

Barrier to the middlemen

And now a few questions to Raisa Prozorova, head of the Interyer firm. What specific work does your firm engage in?

Prozorova. Interyer specializes in control of the quantity and quality of timber and timber products, pulp and paper, pasteboard, mats, bamboo, glass, crystal, bathroom and lavatory equipment, cameras, radios, TV and video sets, and musical instruments. We give recommendations for the purchase of electrical household appliances, wireless and transistor radio sets and accessories. Our firm employs 48 specialists, and all of them have higher specialized education: process engineers in woodworking, electrical mechanics, and commodity experts.

I graduated from the faculty of the Plekhanov Institute of National Economy which trains commodity experts and worked as a commodity expert-inspector in the Moscow Electrical Appliances Trading Organization. Representatives of commercial firms, joint ventures and the custom service often apply to our firm. Recently we gave our recommendations to Lenales, a limited partnership, on the quality of sliced veneer from tropical wood, contract terms of its delivery, packing, marking, and so on. We'll see to it that this contract is fulfilled. The joint venture Start-group wanted to export 200 cubic metres of round oak timber. Our specialists, having arrived in the area, gave a consultation regarding the low quality of this product, and the matter was closed. The question of quality should be decided before the conclusion of a contract, for otherwise it will prove detrimental.

At the request of Lesinvest, a joint Russian-German-British venture, we held consultations on contracts with the aim of protecting its interests on the market. Our task is to work out technical terms of a contract needed for protecting the rights of enterprises which sell their products.

Another joint venture, acting through a broker's office, bought metal wire for the manufacture of nails. However, the quality of wire proved bad. We made an examination and issued an appropriate document to the joint venture. The latter addressed it to the seller which compensated for the damage without a protest. Thus, the unbiassed character of our examinations is not disputed.

In recent times we have been asked more and more often to give an expert evaluation of wood. The Sibexpress firm, whose office is situated in Moscow for some reason, specializes in the export of firewood. Though we did not deal with firewood before, we worked out technical terms for the export product of this kind. We also fulfil requests for the evaluation of firewood from other organizations.

There are instances when joint ventures, joint-stock companies and other organizations try to export good paper under the guise of waste paper, as well as timber products or furniture. They did not manufacture these products but simply bought them somewhere at cheap prices. Custom officials began to pay special attention to this practice. We have been asked to examine whether a firm concerned manufactured products which it exports. The custom officials let them through if the supplier has a corresponding act. One more loophole for unscrupulous dealers has been closed.

Are there pleasant aspects in Interyer's activity?

Prozorova. There are such aspects, of course. At the request of the Domestic Craft Association of Russia we conducted an examination and worked out methods for determining articles to be considered truly domestic crafts. We checked articles to establish whether their medical and biological indicators were harmless and then issued an appropriate certificate. We have prepared documents for the Gzhel earthernware, the Semyonovsky woodworking factory Kerzhenets, which produces articles of Khokhloma painting, the Vasyutinsky craft and Mikhailovskiye lace enterprises, the Northern Niello factory in Veliky Ustyug, the Uzor (Pattern) cooperative, which restores ancient Moscow enamel. For the settlement of disputes and for the purpose of securing consultations we maintain close contact with the Research Institute of Artistic Craft.

Such is the work of our experts. Like Robin Hoods, the employees of Soyuzexpertiza guard our interests, health and the national property of Russia. So far as there are not many good and varied products we must at least ensure that the existing products have high quality and bring no harm. I hope that, when Russia becomes civilized to some extent, not a single product will be sold unless it is granted a quality certificate by Soyuzexpertiza.

***Interviewer* Lev Rudsky**

New "Hongkong"?

Despite sceptical forecasts by many economists, the project of establishing a free economic zone on the junction of the borders of Russia, China and North Korea is becoming a reality.

The delegations of the three countries and representatives of the UN Industrial Development Organization recently signed in Beijing a joint agreement on the allocation of $3.5 million for working out the project in detail. It is planned to draw several dozen billion dollars in foreign investment into the delta of the Tumangan River. At the first stage, the existing infrastructure of the Russian Maritime Territory – highways, railways, sea docks and airports – is to be modernized.

In the new "Hongkong," favourable conditions will be created first of all for investors from the Asian-Pacific Region. The prospect of combining the natural and economic resources of Russia with surplus labour from China and North Korea is believed to be conducive to the development of a new economic zone. Japan, South Korea, Mongolia and even Finland have shown keen interest in the project. It has become known that Finland is prepared to invest a million dollars in that area already today.

It was agreed in Beijing that the project will be financed by the World Bank, the Asian Bank for Development, along with various other international foundations.

The Russian Foreign Ministry believes that the participation of local authorities in the setting up of a free economic zone in the Far East will enable our country to receive additional aid from the United Nations. According to information available to our magazine, the realization of this project will start in the beginning of 1994.

American University in Moscow gets a face-lift

The situation with business schools in Moscow has become rather complicated. The most well-known schools have been acting under very similar names. To distinguish itself from its competitors, Russian-American Independent University has decided to change its name to American University in Moscow.

After the success of the first two years came the necessity for reorganizing the University. With the real possibility of expanding to a full MBA programme, American University in Moscow had to introduce University Policy Statement.

"We started with more or less old Soviet standards, and now we are approaching the real business school standard," Dr Edward Lozansky says. "The principle of free education was great in the beginning, but today students must earn their knowledge. That is one of the reasons we have changed our name from the Russain American Independent University to American University in Moscow. The time for receiving humanitarian aid is over. The university will not only give everyone excellent lectures on theory, but we will also provide the possibility to test students' skills in a real working environment."

Photo by Alexei Kudenko

The University has set up a special work-study programme for its students, where an hour salary runs up to $10 (valid only for tuition payments, these "dollar equivalent" monetary units are named "dolans" after their inventor, Mr. Dolan). Tuition will cost $750 per term.

The best 10 students receive summer internships in American, German or British companies. This year, some students worked for Pepsi and British Airlines, and five were enrolled in the summer session of the Graduate School of Management at the University of California, Irvine.

During their course of study students of AU make effective connections.

Projects for Israel

Kazakhstan Premier Sergei Tereshchenko's visit to Israel produced a protocol on the creation of a joint economic commission, signed by Premier Rabin for Israel.

The commission will consider and coordinate various projects for cooperation between Israel and Kazakhstan.

Circles close to the Kazakh governmental delegation report that Tereshchenko had come with a package of proposals mentioning more than 120 projects on which the two countries can cooperate. The products include agrarian technologies, irrigation systems, soil improvement, storage of agricultural produce, the drug industry, telecommunications and outer space exploration.

An agreement was signed on the same day on arranging direct air links between Israel and Kazakhstan.

Unique festival

Today, art is valued in the most unusual places, including Incombank, the commercial bank Moskovia, the private company Russky Kupets and the Russian-Hungarian joint venture Microinform.

But how do business heads select their collections? The answer is: experts were used from Moscow International Art Shows, or ART MIF (the Russian acronym), which was established in 1990.

ART MIF has already held two international art fairs, displaying works from more than 20 (in 1990) and 70 (in 1992) galleries in Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, France, the USA, Germany and other countries. The success, both commercial and in terms of public attendance, was resounding and put the Moscow fair on the map for international collecting circles.

In addition, ART MIF and its Dominius agency have also held scores of exhibitions at museums throughout the world. The company is now setting up a management school.

To meet the need for an annual forum, a festival of Moscow galleries will be held soon.

This unique festival will last nine days, during which art figures will have a chance to meet with Moscow government officials, businesspeople, collectors and foreign colleagues. The most interesting functions will be one-man shows in the galleries of Alfa Art, Arka, Isograph, Moskovskaya Palitra and Regina Art.

DOSSIER

THE LAW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON TRADEMARKS, SERVICE MARKS AND NAMES OF PLACES OF GOODS' ORIGIN

(Continued from No.48)

Article 29. Termination of registration of a trademark

The registration of a trademark shall be terminated by the Patent Office:

in connection with the termination of its validity term under Article 16 of this Law;

by decision of the Higher Patent Office concerning an ahead-of-time termination of its validity because of the use of a collective mark on goods that do not have common qualitative or other common characteristics under Item 3 of Article 21 of this Law;

by decision of the Higher Patent Chamber on an early termination of its validity because of the non-use of a trademark under Item 3 of Article 22 of this Law;

if it is recognized as invalid under Article 28 of this Law;

if the juridical person who owns the trademark is liquidated;

by decision of the Higher Patent Chamber in case the trademark becomes a designation that gains currency as the designation of goods of a specific kind;

in case the owner of the trademark renounces its registration.

SECTION II. NAME OF PLACE OF GOODS' ORIGIN

CHAPTER VII. NAME OF PLACE OF GOODS' ORIGIN AND ITS LEGAL PROTECTION

Article 30. Name of place of goods' origin

1. The name of place of origin of goods is the name of a country, town or village, locality or another geographical object (hereinafter referred to as geographical object) that is used to designate the goods, the special qualities of which are exclusively or mainly determined by the natural conditions or human factors characteristic of this geographical object, or by both natural conditions and human factors.

The name of place of origin of goods may be the historical name of a geographical object.

2. A designation shall not be recognized as the name of place of origin of goods which, even though it constitutes or contains the name of a geographical object, is current in the Russian Federation as a designation of goods of a certain kind that is not connected with the place of its manufacture.

Article 31. Emergence of legal protection

1. Legal protection of name of place of origin of goods in the Russian Federation emerges on the basis of its registration following a procedure established by this law or by virtue of international agreements of the Russian Federation.

2. The name of place of origin of goods is protected by law.

The name of place of origin of goods may not be an object of exclusive right of individual juridical and natural persons.

3. The name of place of origin of goods may be registered by one or several juridical or natural persons. The person who registers the name of place of origin of goods shall get the right to use it if the goods manufactured by this person meet the requirements under Item 1 of Article 30 of this Law.

The right to use the same name of place of origin of goods, as registered in accordance with established procedure, may be given to any juridical or natural person that is in the same geographical object and manufacturing goods with similar qualities.

4. The registration of the name of place of origin of goods may be valid on a permanent basis.

MOSCOW BUSINESS WEEK

CHAPTER VIII. REGISTRATION AND GIVING RIGHT TO USE NAME OF PLACE OF GOODS' ORIGIN

Article 32. Application for registration and extension of the right to use name of place of goods' origin

1. An application for the registration and extension of the right to use the name of place of origin of goods or an application to give the right to use an already registered name of place of origin of goods (hereinafter referred to as an application) shall be submitted to the Patent Office by the applicant himself or his patent agent under Item 2 of Article 8 of this Law.

2. An application shall refer to one name of place of origin of goods.

3. An appliction shall contain: a statement concerning the registration and extension of a right to use the name of place of origin of goods or concerning giving the right to use an already registered name of place of origin of goods specifying the applicant (applicants), as well as his (their) location or domicile;

the kind of goods which, in order to be designated, requires the registration and extension of the right to use the name of place of origin of goods or extension of the right to use an already registered name of place of origin of goods, specifying the place of its manufacture (boundaries of geographical object);

description of special qualities of goods.

The application is submitted in Russian.

4. The following shall be attached to an application:

the opinion of a competent authority that the applicant is located in the said geographical object and manufactures goods the special qualities of which are determined by natural conditions or human factors characteristic of this geographical object, or by both natural conditions and human factors;

for a foreign applicant, a document confirming his right to the declared name of place of origin of goods in the country of origin of goods;

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a document confirming the payment of due fees.

The documents that are attached to the application shall be submitted in Russian or a language other than Russian. If these documents are submitted in a language other than Russian, a translation into Russian is attached to the application. The applicant may submit a Russian translation within two months of the receipt by the Patent Office of the application containing documents in a language other than Russian.

5. Requirements for application documents are set by the Patent Office.

Article 33. Examination of application

1. An application is examined by the Patent Office and includes preliminary examination and the examination of the declared designation.

2. While an application is being examined and pending a decision, the applicant may amend, clarify and correct the materials of the application on his own initiative.

Should additional materials change the essense of an application, these materials shall not be accepted for consideration and may be executed by the applicant in a separate application.

3. While an examination is being conducted, the Patent Office shall have the right to request the applicant to provide additional materials provided they are of essence to the examiner.

By the examiner's request, additional materials shall be submitted within two months of the date of receipt of the application. By request of the applicant, this period may be extended on condition that the request meets this deadline. If the applicant does not meet the deadline or leaves the examiner's request unanswered, the application is regarded as withdrawn.

4. A preliminary examination checks the contents of an application, the application for the presence of required documents, as well as their conformity with established requirements. The results of the preliminary examination are used to notify the applicant that the application has or has not been accepted for consideration.

5. With the application accepted for consideration an examination is made of the declared designation for its conformity with the requirements established in Article 30 of this Law.

6. The Patent Office uses the results of the examination to decide on the registration of the name of place of origin of goods and giving the right to use it or refusal to register the name of place of origin of goods and the right to use it, or takes a decision on giving the right to use an already-registered name of the place of origin of goods or a refusal to give the right to use it.

7. An applicant may withdraw an application at any stage of its consideration.

Article 34. Appealing against a decision of an applicant and extension of deadlines

1. Should an applicant disagree with a decision of preliminary examination or a decision of the examiner on the declared designation, he shall have a right to appeal against the decision with the Chamber of Appeals within three months of the receipt of the decision.

2. Should an applicant disagree with the decision of the Chamber of Appeals, he may lodge a complaint with the Higher Patent Chamber within six months of the receipt of the decision. The decision of the Higher Patent Chamber is definitive.

3. The deadlines envisaged under Item 3 of Article 33 and Item 1 of this Article that are not met by the applicant may be extended by the Patent Office by request of the applicant that is made within two months after their expiration on condition that well-grounded reasons are given for not meeting the deadlines and fees are paid.

Article 35. Registration of name of place of goods' origin and issue of certificate for the right to use the name of place of goods' origin

1. The Patent Office uses a decision by the examiner to register the name of place of origin of goods in the State Register of Names of Places of Origin of Goods of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred as the Register). The Register records the name of place of origin of goods, information about the holder of a certificate for the right to use the name of place of origin of goods (hereinafter referred to as the certificate), the appearance and description of special properties of goods for which the name of place of origin of goods is registered, other information relating to the registration and giving the right to use the name of place of origin of goods, extension of a certificate validity period, as well as subsequent changes to these records.

2. Issue of a certificate to use the name of place of origin of goods is by the Patent Office within three months of the date of receipt of the documents certifying the payment of a fee.

3. The form of a certificate and the information recorded in it shall be established by the Patent Office.

Article 36. Period of validity of certificate for the right to use the name of place of goods' origin

1. The certificate is valid during ten years beginning on the date of receipt of an application by the Patent Office.

2. The period of validity of a certificate may be extended by request of the holder of the certificate on condition that he provides the opinion of a competent authority to confirm that the holder of the certificate is located in the given geographical object and manufactures goods having the properties specified in the certificate.

The request is made during the last year of certificate validity.

The period of validity of a certificate is extended for another ten years.

By request of the holder of a certificate, he may be given 6 months to extend the certificate validity period after the expiration of the validity of a certificate on the condition that he pays extra fee.

3. A record concerning the extension of the period of validity of a certificate is made by the Patent Office in the Register and the certificate.

Article 37. Making changes to the Register and the certificate

The holder of a certificate shall notify the Patent Office of changes to his company name, his first and last name and patronymic, as well as other changes relating to the registration and the extension of the right to use the name of place of origin of goods.

A record of changes is entered in the Register and the certificate on the conditions of payment of a fee.

Article 38. Publication of information concerning the registration and extension of a right to use the name of place of origin of goods

Information relating to the registration and extension of the right to use the name of place of origin of goods and entered in the Register under Article 35 of this Law shall be published by the Patent Office in an official bulletin within six months of the date of their record in the Register.

Article 39. Registration of name of place of goods' origin in foreign countries

1. A juridical or natural person of the Russian Federation shall have a right to re-

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gister the name of place of origin of goods in a foreign country.

2. An application for the registration of name of place of origin of goods in a foreign country is made after its registration and reception of the right to use this name of place of origin of goods in the Russian Federation.

CHAPTER IX. USE OF NAME OF PLACE OF GOODS' ORIGIN

Article 40

1. The use of the name of place of origin of goods is its use on goods, packaging, advertising, prospectuses, accounts, forms and other documents related to marketing of goods.

2. The registered name of place of origin of goods cannot be used by persons who do not have a certificate, even if they indicate the original name of place of origin of goods and this name is used in translation or in combination with expressions such as "kind," "type," "model" and so on, as well as the use of a similar designation for same-type goods that can mislead consumers as to the name of place of origin of goods and special quantities of goods.

3. The holder of a certificate cannot provide licences for the use of the name of place of origin of goods to other persons.

Article 41. Warning markings

The holder of a certificate may place, alongside the name of place of origin of goods, warning markings indicating that the designation in use is the name of place of origin of goods that is registered in the Russian Federation.

CHAPTER X. TERMINATION OF LEGAL PROTECTION OF NAME OF PLACE OF GOODS' ORIGIN

Article 42. Recognition of registration of the name of place of origin of goods and the certificate for the right to use the name of place of origin of goods as invalid

1. The registration of the name of place of origin of goods may be recognized as invalid if it is in violation of the requirements of this Law.

2. The registration of the name of place of origin of goods may be terminated in connection with the disappearance of the conditions characteristic of a given geographical object and impossibility to manufacture the goods having the properties specified in the Register.

The registration of the name of place of origin of goods in the name of a foreign juridical or natural person, in addition to the above reasons, may also be terminated due to his loss of the right to this name of place of origin of goods in the country of origin of goods.

3. A certificate for the right to use the name of place of origin of goods may be recognized as invalid if it was issued in breach of the requirements under this Law.

4. The certificate may be terminated:

following the loss by the goods of special properties specified in the Register in connection with this name of place of origin of goods;

in case the registration of the name of place of origin of goods is cancelled;

provided the juridical entity holding the certificate is liquidated;

on the basis of an application from the holder of the certificate that is applied to the Patent Office.

5. Any individual may file, for reasons specified in Items 1 to 4 of this Article, a complaint against the registration of the name of place of origin of goods and the issue of a certificate for the right to use the name of place of origin of goods with the Chamber of Appeals. The objection shall be considered within four months of the date of its receipt. The person who lodges the complaint and the holder of the certificate have the right to participate in its consideration.

6. A decision of the Chamber of Appeals may be appealed against at the Higher Patent Chamber within six months of the date of its passage. The decision of the Higher Patent Chamber is definitive.

7. The Patent Office cancels the registration of the name of place of origin of goods, as well as the certificate for the right to use the name of place of origin of goods should they be recognized as invalid by decision of the Higher Patent Chamber.

SECTION III. FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 43. Russian Federation State Patent Office

Under this Law the State Patent Office of the Russian Federation conducts an integrated policy as regards the protection of trademarks and names of place of origin of goods in the Russian Federation, accepts applications for the registration of trademarks, as well as applications for the registration and authorization of the right to use the name of place of origin of goods, examines them, issues certificates, publishes official data, issues clarifications as to the use of this Law and carries out other functions relating to trademarks and names of place of origin of goods under the provisions on the Patent Office as approved by the President of the Russian Federation.

Article 44. Taxes

Fees are collected for the execution of legally meaningful actions connected with the registration of the trademark, registration of and providing the right to use the name of place of origin of goods. The fees are paid to the Patent Office. The list of actions for the execution of which fees are collected, their sizes and payment dates, as well as grounds for the refund of the fees are established by the government of the Russian Federation.

Article 45. Consideration of disputes connected with the use of this law

1. Disputes connected with the application of this law shall be considered in accordance with a procedure established by the legislation of the Russian Federation, a court of law, a court of arbitration, including disputes:

over violation of the exclusive right of a trademark;

on conclusion and execution of a licensing agreement and/or agreement on the cession of a trademark;

on the illegal use of the name of place of origin of goods.

2. The Higher Patent Office of the Russian Federation shall consider disputes that are included within its terms of reference under Articles 13, 21, 22, 28, 29, 42 of this Law.

Article 46. Liability for the illegal use of trademark and name of place of origin of goods

1. The use of a trademark and name of place of origin of goods or a designation, similar to the trademark or name of place of origin of goods, covering same-type goods in violation of provisions of Item 2 of Article 4 and Article 40 of this Law shall bear civil and/or criminal liability under the legislation of the Russian Federation.

2. Protection of civil rights from the illegal use of a trademark, apart from demands that the violation be ended or that damages be collected, is also executed in the following manner:

the publication of a court decision to restore the business reputation of the aggrieved party;

the removal from the goods or packaging

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thereof of the illegally used trademark or designation that is as similar as to allow of confusion, or the destruction of the manufactured representations of the trademark or designation that is so similar as to allow of confusion.

3. A person who makes an illegal use of the name of place of origin of goods or of a designation similar to this name shall, upon demand by the holder of the certificate for the right to use the name of place of origin of goods, public organization or procurator's office:

stop its use, and reimburse all aggrieved parties for the damages, and pay to a local budget the amount of the profit gained from the illegal use of the name of place of origin of goods in excess of the reimbursed damages;

publish the court decision to restore the business reputation of the aggrieved party;

remove from the goods or packaging thereof of the illegally used name of place of origin of goods or a designation that is so similar to it as to allow of confusion, or destroy the manufactured representations of the trademark or designation that is so similar as to allow of confusion.

4. The person who places warning markings in connection with a trademark or a name of place of origin of goods that is not registered in the Russian Federation shall bear liability in accordance with the procedure established by the legislation of the Russian Federation.

Article 47. Rights of foreign juridical entities and natural persons

Foreign juridical and natural persons shall enjoy rights provided for by this Law that are equal to those of the juridical and natural persons of the Russian Federation by virtue of international treaties of the Russian Federation or on the basis of the principle of reciprocity.

The right to registration in the Russian Federation of names of place of origin of goods shall be accorded to juridical and natural persons of the states that give such a right to juridical and natural persons of the Russian Federation.

Article 48. International treaties

Provided the international treaty of the Russian Federation establishes rules other than those in this Law, the rules of the international treaty apply.

REGULATION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

On Implementation of the Law of the Russian Federation "On Trademarks, Service Marks and Names of Places of Goods' Origin"

The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation hereby rules that:

1. The law of the Russian Federation "On Trademarks, Service Marks and Names of Places of Origin of Goods" takes effect on the date of its official publication.

2. The law of the Russian Federation "On Trademarks, Service Marks and Names of Places of Origin of Goods" covers legal relations that emerged after this law became effective.

3. It shall be established that fees for the commission of legally meaningful actions in connection with the registration of trademarks and service marks, the registration and extension of the right to use names of places of origin of goods shall come directly to the budget of the Russian Federation State Patent Office.

4. The registration of trademarks and service marks that was done in the former USSR shall be effective on the territory of the Russian Federation.

5. With respect to applications for the registration of trademarks and service marks on which action is not completed when this law takes effect and the certificates have not been issued, applicants shall have the right to request for the registration of trademarks and service marks in the Russian Federation, with priority retained in relation to the originally filed applications.

Applications shall be filed with the State Patent Office of the Russian Federation not later than December 31, 1992.

The applications for which requests have been made to meet this deadline, shall be considered in accordance with the procedure established by the law of the Russian Federation "On Trademarks, Service Marks and Names of Place of Origin of Goods," with the designations submitted for registration to be subject to requirements under the legislation in effect on the date of submission of application.

6. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Science and Education Committee and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Legislation Committee, together with the Russian Federation State Patent Office shall be charged with:

preparing and sending to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet proposals concerning administrative and criminal liability for the violation of legislation on trademarks and names of places of origin of goods;

summarize the practice of the use of the law and report the results before January 1, 1994.

7. The Russian Federation government shall be charged with:

sending to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet before June 1, 1992, a proposal concerning amendments to the effective legislation in connection with the passage of the Russian Federation law "On Trademarks, Service Marks and Names of Place of Origin of Goods";

providing for the passage of normative acts under the Russian Federation law "On Trademarks, Service Marks and Names of Places of Origin of Goods" before June 15, 1992;

determining the state bodies that will be responsible for control of production and marketing of goods that are designated by the registered name of place of origin of goods;

taking required measures to regulate the use of geographical names to terminate their use as regards the goods the place of manufacture of which is not in conformity with such instructions.

Chairman of the Russian Federation
Supreme Soviet
Ruslan Khasbulatov
May 14, 1992

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Pyotr Maskov: light and shadow

Though only two or three years ago our hero was just an ordinary man-in-the-street, today he is president of one of the country's largest international trading houses Rossiya, an independent commercial structure with stock valued at a quarter of a billion rubles

Pyotr Maskov discussing religion's role in a businessman's life with John Peterson, the American Olympic champion, an activist of the world Crusade for Christ

A most unusual man who combines the qualities of a tough-minded pragmatic businessman with the talents of an existentialist writer and artist, the mentality of a devout Christian and the energetic activity of a politician, Pyotr Maskov, 39, has had a hard time, from which he has evolved the Christian philosophy of discarding the communist double-think and Pharisaism planted in Russia. He hopes eventually to bequeath to his children a new prosperous Russia, where the principle of living as truth commands would be fully implemented.

In the following interview he expounds his concept of life and entrepreneurial activity.

No crawling to top

How did you evolve your novel vision of the world at a time dominated by totalitarian ideology, when any alternative to blockheaded loyalty to the regime could be only the Gulag or the "loony bin"?

I believe this the logical outcome of the conflict between normal reason and irrational reality. Like many others of my generation I lived from childhood on in a typical Orwellian situation. On the one hand, we heard the "Ministry of Truth" declare that it was "easier and merrier to live now," though in reality my boyhood was spent in a hut for working-class families that stood on the fringes of Moscow, while at sixteen, after my parents divorced, I felt all alone and unwanted.

Having entered college, I soon realized that upon graduation I would not be able to avoid complicity in the already traditional fraudulent method of assigning money to workers for jobs they had not done and pretend that was how it should be. When I voiced my views I was kicked out of college and drafted into the armed forces in a constructional battalion. I must say that life in those Siberian army barracks was no better than in a next door high-risk prison zone for criminals. What the slogans calling for communism actually concealed was nothing but jungle law. I went hungry and was numb-cold in frosts of 45 °C. This atmosphere brutalized the servicemen and drove some to suicide. I was shocked to see two gays having it off with a bread ration handed over as pay for this "pleasure." Officers regarded "education" of the men as suppression of human dignity and the transformation of human beings into draught cattle. I still remember the criminal offenders who worked side by side with us laughingly observe: "It's you who are the slaves. We're free." They were serving their prison terms, but what did boys who had not the slightest inkling of what such "service for the country" implied, have to suffer for, assimilating the "science of slavery"?

At that point I took up religion and as a result preserved my dignity and individuality and retained my faith in that good conquered evil. In short I stayed human. After I was demobbed, I studied the arts, hoping that by creative efforts I would be able to acquire spiritual freedom for myself. Yet again reality harassed me. After an argument with the instructor at the mandatory exam in scientific communism, I again found myself out in the street, realizing again that free thinking was punishable in a

sick society. By that time I had married and had a baby boy, and it was thanks to home and family that I had the strength to survive and not become one of many misfits around. I began to compose poetry and wrote two novellas – one entitled *Collision*, the other, *Moon Wanderings*.

Mustard seed

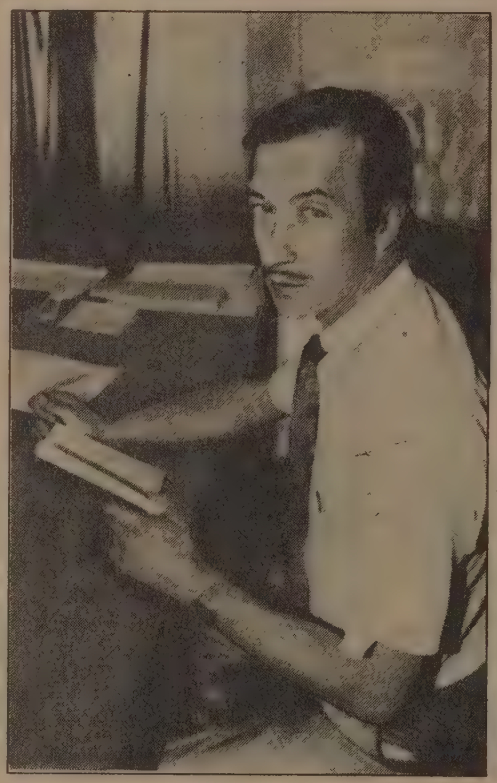
How did you become a businessman?

In my novella *Moon Wanderings* there's an episode in which the dead dictator of an "experimental" town afflicted by metastasizing evil bequeathes a highly confidential message to his heir "revealing:" "Everything is going on ohterwise than was conceived. The Leader's teaching is fallacious!" I wrote this incidentally three years before Gorbachev resigned as President. However though continuing to stress adherence to "socialism with a human face," he had already done much to get away from that far-fetched formula. Cooperatives thus appeared as the initial offshoots of free enterprise. Society divided with one segment composed of the whited sepulchres in power who spoke but did nothing and were fond of salutations in popular assemblies. The other segment consisted of no mean number of people who out of personal experience refused to identify bureaucratic socialism with humanitarian principles. After all, one cannot crawl to the top.

Having retained their personal identities, they for the first time had the chance to really assert themselves as individuals. The customary fear of being hammered down like jutting nails receded. They began to climb out of the morass, and stretching one another a helping hand, engaged in enterprise guaranteeing at least minimal personal and economic liberty. By that time, not to starve, I'd gone through a range of callings even cabby. The effort to survive bred the pragmatic approach needed teaching me to understand people better. When friends suggested I should organize a co-op, I realized that this was that self same mustard seed, which grows larger than all else to become a tree in which our feathered friends nest. In short, I helped to found two cooperatives – Microprocessor and Eureka – of which I became manager. I saw for myself that inner staunchness and the do-good principle far from interfere with business; on the contrary, they are its backbone. I thus discovered my own mettle and little by little graduated towards stock exchange and major commercial dealings, with the result that in August 1991 I was elected president of the international Rossiya Stock Exchange Trading House.

No way back for Russia

That was a time, when had the putsch come off, you could have again found yourself in a dark tunnel with a single glimmer of light at the end. In fact, you could have even found yourself in jail. How did you react?



The Holy Bible's wisdom is universal, claims Pyotr Maskov, who keeps this Eternal Book as his vade mecum

Though, of course, anything might have happened, I was firmly convinced that there was no way back for Russia. We were ready to uphold the new Russia. On August 20 we went straight off from our constituent meeting to man the barricades shielding Russia's White House, where ordinary men and women halted the tanks. Of course, non-resistance to evil is not the best alternative, otherwise why go on living? After all one must fight to the bitter end. One cannot let boorishness and violence degrade. To live a life of truth, one must know how to retaliate with force to force when necessary. That is even stressed in the Gospel according to Matthew, meaning that one cannot back down, even if one loses thereby.

Russian breadth plus Japanese expertise

More than a year has passed. What have you achieved in respect of your concept of business, which you see as the way out of economic and moral hypocrisy?

Our Trading House was instituted as a daughter enterprise of the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Stock Exchange, with us acting as middleman in vending a broad range of consumer commodities and foodstuffs. Our concept is based on Japanese expertise, seen, in the final analysis, as a multiform complex for production, information, finance and sales, an absolutely novel type of commercial structure for this country. More than 2,000 bought shares. We established close links with industrial and commercial firms in Russia's Volga-Vyatka region, the Stavropol and Krasnodar territories, the Dniester region, Daghestan, and Georgia. Their purpose more specifically is to amalgamate by economic ties territories that naturally gravitate towards one another, but which separatist politicians are currently trying to disunite. We have had a good response; indeed only recently one Georgian VIP assured me that great hopes were reposed in the reanimation of economic links with Russia. Actually the House's turnover is now in the neighbourhood of 500 million rubles, which sum we hope to double before this year is out, a pretty good target considering the current crisis-stricken situation. Though we partly orient ourselves on import, we regard an energetic export policy as more promising.

No traders in the temple

You speak of money and turnover, but didn't Christ expel the traders from the temple? Also isn't it easier for the camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God?

There is indeed no point trading in the temple. But did Christ ever object to trade which has always been civilization's motor, its keynote? Recall the talents' parable which notes that the man who had buried the talent given failed to take advantage of

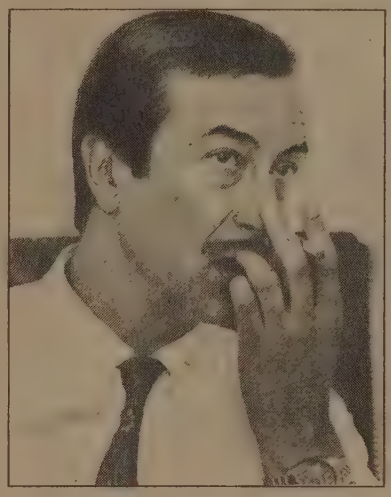
his unique chance. Also realize that initially the talent was a measure not money for which reason, as regards our stock of talents we never lose sight of the measure, of the moral aspect of their usage. We could of course devote ourselves fully to speculation, which yields an exceptionally high profit, openly take advantage of the short-term situation as those wild-cat middlemen do. However, we preferred a different option, helping Russian producers to organize a civilized vending infrastructure; we ourselves invest heavily in production and supply factories with raw materials. That is the only way to cut down on the number of middlemen and thus reduce prices, enhance buying and fortify the ruble and Russian economy generally.

My moral imperative here is: If not me than who? Thus, it would be pretty easy for me to grab several million rubles in a not very honest way, but I stay manager of the money of others while the pay I get is at the present ruble rate of exchange but a monthly hundred dollars. On the other hand, I sleep well, if of course I can get to bed. Nor do I feel envious of those who having stocked a mint of rubles rush to change them for dollars and emigrate abroad, where Russian sharpers often land. It's a matter of principle with me. Let me stress that in a market economy observance of ethics will, I think, really make moral the principle of "to each according to the work done" which for so many years was perverted in the "communist-perspective" society.

Trust but check

But didn't you say yourself that the beginnings of Russia's market economy have quite a few shysters around?

Quite true, I myself have encountered attempts to hoodwink me. For that reason our Trading House has its own economic security service. In short, trust but check. Such are the declasse elements which Russia has amassed after decades of falsehood. Why, they even had the "saying," according to which we pretend to work while the state pretends to pay us. One of our "great helmsmen," Brezhnev, sharing recollections of his younger days, held forth that when they unloaded freightcars, they did not forget to take a bit for themselves, which meant that it was no sin to steal. It's not that easy to change that false creed. After all, didn't Moses spend 40 years in the desert until the last Jew with the ingrained slave mentality acquired in Egypt, died? Nevertheless, by now we see more and more honest businessmen who are reviving the tradition of the Russian merchant class who went by the Scriptures. The Russian tradesman of old did not ask for a note of hand and trusted one's word, but professional competence was high. After all, business cannot function normally without firm moral principles. Caught lying once nobody will trust you again. In short, the moral category becomes an economic one. As St.Paul the Apostle once observed, better



Though Pyotr Maskov lights a cigarette during tough negotiations, this foible is but one of this new Russian businessman's few weaknesses

Photos by A. Kudenko

change than simply seek to stay abreast of the times.

My boy wanted to trade

Does your boy realize all that?

I think I've been able to get him to feel compassion, do good and preserve his dignity. Though he is still at school he wants to help and be financially independent to some degree. He started off by vending newspapers and icecream at a railway station and I was happy that he had shown initiative. Then one day racketeers demanded a kichback for "security." He handed over the sum wanted, but a couple of hours later, another group of extortioners approached and with threats forced him to pay up again, for "security." Afterwards, he didn't want to be a tradesman anymore. Such is the Russian market's jungle law, which only crushes people and kills inborn enterprise. What I think should be done is to have organized good oppose organized evil, of course, God forbid, in the shape of the notorious dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Children of others"

Business is not only one's inner morality, with success here depending on society's state and the political environment. Yet the political scientist Prof. Alexander Yanov, who emigrated to the USA, noticed after visiting Russia recently that the post-putsch authorities treated the people who had stuck up for Russia's White House as "the children of others." Your comment?

He's largely right. Despite the market principles declared the government often behaves in such a way that the businessman regards the Ryzhkov chapter as a good time. The government has introduced taxation that strangles private enterprise. No privileges are afforded people who seek to invest in long-term economic projects. A mountain of laws, decrees and decisions are issued, which are contradictory and poorly conceived. There is true a programme of privatization, but the very process often proceeds behind closed doors, with bureaucrats deciding the issue by themselves. This offers broad opportunities for corruption which is unprecedented now. There is no property legislation measuring up to international standards.

Thus despite the money we have our Trading House still owns only one small shop. We won the limited tendering, of which we learned only by accident. Though we are not refused outright, matters are never settled. One day with a group of businessmen we discussed the situation with Parliamentary Speaker Khasbulatov. He said he would help and even laid a hundred dollar wager that he would get things moving. But he didn't get anywhere, all because of the bureaucrats. When there is no private ownership, international commercial and industrial links also suffer. We have among our partners quite a few German, British and Italian firms, but they want to deal only with people, who can put up their property and hard currency bank deposits as collateral. But Vneshekonombank, which has declared itself insolvent has frozen hard-currency accounts. How can one trust the state in such a case? One more problem is how to get an export license which is extremely difficult even given barter and reciprocated import. After exporting your produce you are obliged to sell half your hard-currency take for rubles besides paying taxes. Honest business is really and truly punishable here.

Yet do you think Russia will eventually develop a market economy and retain a high degree of morality?

When they usurped power, the Bolsheviks cracked down on the old state bureaucracy. That was not repeated after the August putsch. Many bureaucrats pretended to expose the CPSU and having gained sinecures quickly transformed into a neo-nomenclatura. Yet it is upon them that the wording of laws and the lot of promising deals depend. Corruption, half-hearted reform and erroneous decisions have plunged the country into a cruel economic crisis. Several months ago the Moscow Convention of Entrepreneurs of which I am also member, demanded the resignation of the Moscow government under Mayor Popov, who incidentally never was a dissident, but collaborated with the partocracy. We intimated that we had envidence of corruption, as we knew how certain "exclusive" joint ventures had been set up and how leases had been signed for prestigious downtown office premises. The authorities sought to discredit us, claiming that we were undermining the very basis. However, Popov resigned or rather scampered off from his elected post, and to this day nobody has ever analyzed the charges laid against him.

Still, Russia has a way out, which is to intensively reform economy along genuine market lines. This should be done by genuine democrats, themselves businessmen, who must take over reform and promote professional politicians.

We know that you are on the political board of the recently officially registered Economic Freedom Party, which the leading stock market dealer Konstantin Borovoi and the well-known eye surgeon and businessman Svyatoslav Fyodorov co-chair.

Yes, we have set up this party, which has put forward programme opposing the apparatchik-populist degeneration of the authorities and advocating observance of the democratic principles of the August revolution. Generally this is a party of liberals, of social partnership. Though we are confused with Social Democrats we are rather Christian Democrats of that "third estate" which aware of its rights and interests seek to champion these rights and interests by political parliamentary means. Our priorities are economic liberty, equal opportunity, the handing over of property to the citizenry, a national consensus and stability. Our party already has tens of thousands of members in Russia's major cities. Experts believe we will have at least 40 million behind us, capitalists, managerial executives, engineers, factory workers, in short, everyone wanting a hand in Russia's renaissance and advocating the new political and economic thinking. Only recently we held in Moscow an interregional seminar at which invited US experts described how to organize political parties and political campaigns. Though I have no particular attraction for politics, which is why I prefer business, the situation is such that one willy-nilly has to engage in politics.

Some serious experts think the present regime has only three or four months more to live. What will we see after? In a television interview Borovoi said he was ready to gird up his loins to fight. But against whom? Against the chiefs of the military industrial complex?

I would prefer to quote Grigori Yavlisnky, so well known in the West as an author of the 500 Days Programme, who asserted in a *Guardian* interview that the Gaidar team was proceeding wrongly and was abusing popular patience and preparedness for market reform. I feel I must agree. Though I would not want to contemplate what might happen, I can quite foresee a political cutback with all its tragic consequences for Russia. It is still not too late for the government to look the truth squarely in the eye and rely once again on the Democrats that installed it in power in August. Then our party will cooperate with it in the same way as we are prepared to cooperate with all democratically-minded political forces. We are prepared to accept a coalition partnership as we do not want to have barricades again for the simple reason even that there will be no bloodless "operetta" putsch now.

I wouldn't call you a sabre-rattler, even though I've been told you hold a black belt in karate.

I certainly don't like conflicting. Karate, though is not only a contest, but a serious philosophy, a contest between people strong in spirit. In sporting karate a blow is never stricken but only indicated, and again there is a direct link with business here. Indeed, as St. Paul the Apostle noted in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, that though only one gets the prize in a race that all run, one must run to try to capture this prize. Thanks to the karate philosophy, one may repulse psychological aggrandizement by building up an inner "wall of estrangement." Unfortunately, cultivated for years in Russia was a different ethic which one poet summed up as follows: "If it's necessary to tell a lie do so. If it's necessary to kill, do so." Violence has become an idol to which many genuflect. However, history has shown that in Russia the age of the idol is short. There is a spark of true faith in every Russian soul and eventually it will light the flame of morality. I often reflect on what was said in the Sermon on the Mount about the candle that should not be hidden but shed light on all around, which is my favourite quotation from the Scriptures.

Interviewer: *Nikolai Garkusha*

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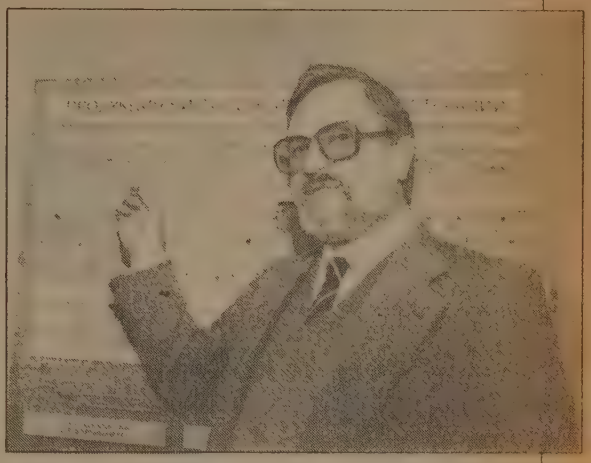
Some have arteries, others red tape

Is Arnold Pork the only person who needs the factory in Vyborg?



Arnold Pork: "Looking for a partner"

Arnold Pork's reaction to the army- and KGB-staged massacre near the Vilnius TV centre, sanctioned by the authorities, was a personal one: he shipped disposable intravenous cannulas to the Lithuanians. This badly needed items bought for foreign currency are used for blood transfusion and intravenous injections. He was generous enough to send three thousand cannulas while those wounded in Vilnius needed only about five hundred...

This immediately throws light on political views held by this man. Now a few words about his rare quality, the ability to start his life all over from the zero point. Only yesterday he was a recognized authority in law, an expert in territorial problems and the author of three monographs (strictly speaking, he still remains all this), and today he is General Director of an association trying to start production of disposable medical instruments.

From scholars to neophites

So how does one change his life? In a very simple way: a first impulse is necessary. For instance, you come across a piece of information which captivates you, and you realize that you have to personally participate in something, you must change or improve something or rush to somebody's rescue. Certainly, it's only externally that the act of decision-making looks instantaneous; in fact, you have been approaching it for years, as your readiness to make the decisive step matures, and then its sprouts will quickly grow on the fertile soil of our distorted reality.

About four years ago the happy lawyer visited Leningrad on a business trip. By pure chance he happened to read a secret (to the public but not to the authorities) memorandum on the state of our long-suffering medical system. One figure in it played the role of the straw which broke the camel's back: a considerable number of Soviet maternity hospitals have no water supply. We're not talking hot water, simply main water is absent there! "This is genocide!" he cried out, presumably aloud. No surprise that the death rate of Russian newborns reaches a dreadful 4 percent and contamination of children with the deadly HIV virus, i.e., AIDS, ceased to be sensational...

A few hours later the zealous neophite was introduced (again by accident; aren't there too many coincidences for the whole story to be purely accidental?) to representatives of the famous Swedish firm Viggo-Spectramed specializing in manufacturing disposable syringes, cannulas and blood-transfusion systems. Here it dawned upon him how exactly he could materialize his intentions. The only thing to be done was to build a factory manufacturing disposable intravenous cannulas of precisely this firm. Why precisely this firm's ones? Because these cannulas which are thin elastic tubes with needles inside them can be left in veins for a month, and the patients are thus relieved of unnecessary trouble. Would you believe me if I added that the external cover of telephone cable is now often used in Russian hospitals due to the shortage of polymer tubes. Dread of hospitals looks more and more rational, if you're a Russian.

Such a factory could be one of several capable of satisfying the country's demand for this vitally important product. Certainly, the Swedes' consent was first necessary, maybe they'd be unwilling due to the stereotype of Russian carelessness. Getting the Swedes' consent it turned out was not the problem, persuading domestic organizations was.

Everyone approves, but...

As I turn the pages of a thick collection of documents, they give me a vague idea of the struggle started by our hero. And why should a struggle have been necessary, if there is an unambiguous consensus by experts?

"Considering the fact that the proposed intravenous cannulas are not produced in the country, the USSR Ministry of Public Health regards it as expedient, in the conditions of the threat of the spreading AIDS, to start manufacturing intravenous cannulas in cooperation with the Swedish firm Viggo-Spectramed AB..."

"The RSFSR Ministry of Public Health confirms its interest in the products of the joint state-and-cooperative association Propomed..."

"The possibility to organize production of disposable cannulas with stylets in the USSR is of great interest to the USSR Armed Force medical service which has more than once raised this question in the relevant bodies of power. The Central Military Medical Directorate of the USSR Defence Ministry is ready to buy disposable cannulas and other disposable medical instruments from the Association for Soviet rubles..."

Now a few necessary explanations. Propomed is Arnold Pork-headed, joint state-and-cooperative association created by the All-Union Research Institute of Medical Polymers of the USSR Ministry of Medical Industry and the All-Union Association of State, Public and Cooperative Entreprises Progress; the word "Propomed" is an abbreviation which reads as "progress of polymers in medicine." The stylet mentioned in the documents is a needle cut at a certain strictly verified angle which doesn't break through veins as the Soviet ones do, but smoothly penetrates it. After a period of treatment, the needle is taken away from the tube which is subsequently "locked" by a special device. But let's quote from one more document signed by Chief Anaesthesiologist and Chief Reanimator of the USSR Ministry of Public Health:

"As a rule, the cannula remains fixed in a vein for the period of 7 to 30 days. Its introduction into medical practice considerably facilitates treatment, sharply diminishes the probability of appearance of hematomas and thrombophlebitis and precludes cross-contamination which is particularly important today because of the danger of spreading AIDS. ...The demand for cannulas is 500 a year per one thousand people. Intravenous cannulas with stylets are not produced in the USSR because of the absence of the required technology; the problem of its development will not be solved within the 10 to 15 years to come.

"During 1987-1990 the All-Union Research Institute of Medical Polymers of the USSR Ministry of Public Health negotiated with representatives of the firm Viggo-Spectromed AB... For the first time in its practice the firm expressed its consent to organize in the USSR production of 10 million cannulas a year on the basis of domestic polymeric materials. The firm has prepared a project to build a factory in conformity with international standards and rules. In the future, Propomed is planning to develop and enlarge its production capacity and the range of disposable medical instruments..."

There is one more exceptionally important point in this document, which had been signed by two high scientific dignitaries – occupants of no less high administrative posts – and which was advanced to the USSR Council of Ministers:

"It is expected to raise the amount necessary for financing the building of the factory from the sales of products in possession of Propomed and its subdivisions on the Western market."

This point would rouse a storm. But this would happen later, and for the time being the Propomed ship was picking up speed and, led by its captain, hoped to avoid reefs and shoals.

The Research Institute of Oncology approved the project and advanced its conclusion to "superior bodies." The Vyborg City Party Secretary who believed in this useful initiative sent his letter there. (It was only a couple of years ago, but nonetheless in a different epoch when nothing could be decided without the participation of the almighty Party.) Propomed itself also sent a letter to the Council of Ministers. It contained a detailed description of the project and two requests: to help it receive hard currency credits and to issue licences for selling raw materials and finished products in the Association's possession (copper vitriol, potassium chloride, production waste, scrap metal, timber, etc.). This was to become the source of financing the factory's construction.

In the meantime, the Leningrad Regional Executive Committee considered the project and decided that the construction of this factory in the Leningrad Region would be useful to both the region and the country if certain quite reasonable requirements were complied with (housing facilities for the personnel of the would-be factory, a certain quantity of cannulas reserved for the use in the region, enlarging the range of products produced). There also came the long-expected support by the Council of Ministers formulated as an instruction to the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Foreign Economic Bank ("to conduct negotiations and advance recommendations, taking into account the importance of the matter in question"). That's where the main reefs for the Propomed ship arose. It was quite natural to demand from the Association feasibility studies, calculations of the project's profitability and other things. But when the question of the inadmissibility of selling abroad waste and scrap metal

Such cannulas can save thousands of lives

so needed for the country began to be repeatedly raised, one was urged to ask a couple of questions. For instance: what's more valuable: the logs buried on the river bottom and contaminating it or a sick or wounded person lying on a hospital bed with a piece of a telephone cable instead of a cannula in his vein? Or what's more important: the boundless piety with regard to a law or humble respect for human life? Of course, Law is supreme. Or may it be human life after all?

By the way, a few words about laws. Not so long ago, early in the 1980s, a very competent person informed a select audience that about 400 thousand documents, no more no less, have legal force in our country. One can choose any and follow its instructions. Fortunately, there are much fewer laws now, and they seem to be more respected. Are they indeed? Maybe, they are remembered only when one has to do something one doesn't want to for some reason or other? Do you think this doesn't happen?

Will it be possible to pass the reefs?

But let's return to be the stylet story. The Council of Ministers authorities insistently recommend that the organizations subordinate to the Ministry expedite the settling of the problem. Yet the reefs of the Ministry of Medical Industry, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Foreign Economic Bank are impassable.

Propomed doesn't mark time either. It meticulously followed all seven governmental instructions. It advanced feasibility studies and all sorts of calculations, it explained why such a factory was so badly needed, how much it would cost and when it would start yielding profit. All these matters were to be settled with the Union and Russian Ministries of Public Health, with the Ministry of Medical Industry, the Foreign Economic Bank, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the State Committee for Construction, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supplies, the Defence Ministry and the KGB.

They had to explain everything anew 7 times. They had to emphasize the fact that they didn't ask for a cent from the state, they only wanted to be authorized to take credits from foreign banks. At last the restrained Director of Propomed lost patience. He said in a conversation with a high-ranking official: "You know, personally I will need only one cannula, but think at least about your own children, about your relatives..." It was something like a sermon.

Thus, judging by documents, the Ministry of Medical Industry and the Foreign Economic Bank's greatest concern is to prevent any causing of damage to the state, especially foreign currency losses. Dr. Arnold Pork recalled in our conversation that in the 1980s many hundred millions of dollars were issued to various medical organizations but no currency was allocated for the construction of the disposable syringe factory – it was preferred to spend it on buying medical equipment abroad, which is much easier than engaging in construction projects, commissioning and putting it into operation, etc. At the same time, the building of the factory in Vyborg requires a much smaller amount, only $50 million. Propomed assumes all expenses in ruble terms: the "zero" stage of the construction, the ramming in of piles, the delivery of sand, road-metal, cement and asphalt to the construction site. All preparatory work on the site has been completed by now, and if there is money, a foreign company can start its part of the job.

But how soon will it be possible to pay back the debts (for it's going to be currency credits, not allocations)? As it turns out, in less than 18 months. The price of one cannula in the world market is $0.99. This commodity is called "currency-replacing," because it can be bought only abroad, and the appearance of domestic products on the market will result in a considerable saving of currency.

And how much will be saved as a result of the reduction in the number of new AIDS victims infected during intravenous injections? And what unit of measure is preferable, US dollars or human lives?

... Union Ministries have been washed away, but the Propomed ship is so far unable to overcome the reefs of indifference and closed-mindedness by today's Russian institutions of power.

The question arises: Why not take a credit from a foreign bank? In fact, a successful attempt was made, but then August 19, 1991, came and the banks did some rethinking – they wanted guarantees that the credit would be paid back... However, nothing risked, nothing gained, and this project presents no crediting risk, because it's absolutely sound, and the commodity is marketable. So is there a generous person, in this country or abroad, who can afford parting with the required amount for a time? Proposals are to be sent to: 113035 Moscow, Bolshaya Ordynka St., 9/1, apartment 4; fax (095) 233-27-31; tel. 230-79-87. It will be a great joy for Propomed and a hope for millions of people.

Vladimir Zhitomirsky

Novaya Zemlya: nuclear-detonated earthquakes

On October 19 Boris Yeltsin signed an edict extending the nuclear test moratorium. As a result, Russia's sole nuclear testing site – after the USSR's disintegration – in the Arctic Novaya Zemlya Archipelago will stay silent till July 1, 1993 at least. Yet defence officials do not attempt to hide that at the Central Technological Area near the Matochkin Shar strait miners continue to drill shafts in preparation for more explosions. The question of whether nuclear testing is needed and whether it is more harmful than useful was discussed at an international Arctic Ecological Problems and Prospects of Nuclear Disarmament Conference held in October in Arkhangelsk. While Russia still has nuclear weapons tests are essential, the representatives of the two – defence and atomic energy – ministries aver. They believe the ecological consequences of underground testing are minimal, the more so as there is "nothing for us to lose" on Novaya Zemlya.

But is that really so? The statement that Boris Golubov, a Russian parliamentary expert, who incidentally was barred to the Arctic nuclear testing site, issued at the Arkhangelsk Conference has bewildered representatives of the military-industrial complex who had hitherto so successfully fobbed off ecologists and public.

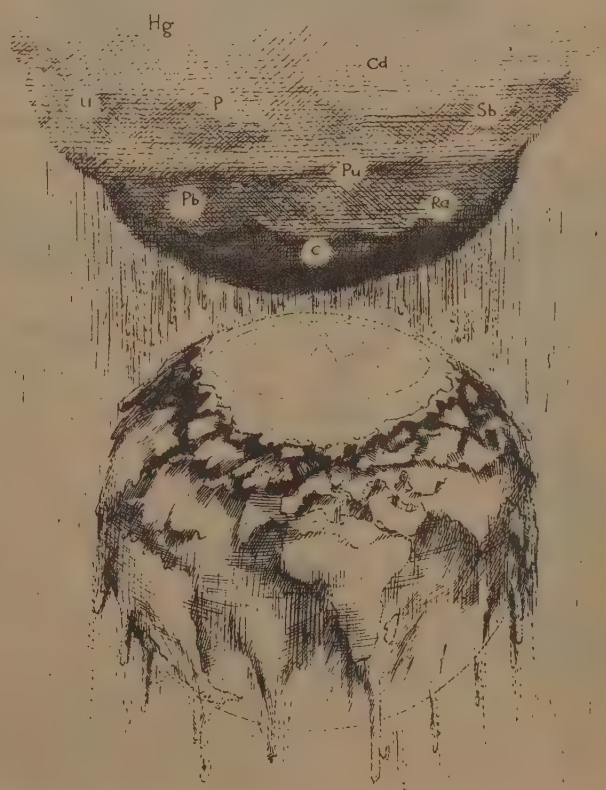
In the following exclusive contribution to our magazine, **Boris GOLUBOV,** a professional geologist, who is Learned Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences Council on Biosphere Problems and head of the Ecological Consequences of Underground Nuclear Testing team of experts of the Parliamentary Committee on Ecology and the Natural Resources Management, sets out his views.

One feels alarm when studying the chart of underground tests on Novaya Zemlya, the data furnished by the Interdepartmental Commission for Assessing the Radiation and Seismic Hazards of Nuclear Testing as well as the map of the Archipelago's mineral deposits. "Mines" of appalling power are being laid under Novaya Zemlya and other Arctic regions.

String of "mines"

Between 1955 and 1963, before the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water was signed, as many as 90 nuclear bombs with a total yeld of 250 metagons (with the June 1961 explosion yelding record 58 megatons), were detonated on army testing site on Novaya Zemlya.

After the Moscow Treaty was signed, sabre-rattling muted as such explosions were detonated underground and already for industrial, besides milit-



ary, purposes. Between 1964 and 1990 42 explosions were detonated totalling 23 megatons, with the most powerful series taking place between 1970 and 1975. Of the 115 industrial nuclear explosions detonated between 1965 and 1988 and totalling 1.5 megatons, 12 were conducted north of the Arctic Circle and about 30 within the basins of rivers debouching into the Arctic Ocean.

Thus was the Arctic enclosed in a string of "mines." Do they still represent a hazard, now that the explosions are past? The fact is that they have exerted powerful aftereffects, such as environmental radioactive pollution, hazardous geological processes and a worsening ecology.

Underground nuclear tests are conducted in shafts at a depth of several hundred metres. For long it was thought, but without adequate evidence, that these shafts were hermetically sealed. During an explosion the temperature within the enclosed chamber reaches millions of degrees, causing sections of the rock to evaporate and melt. As it cools, the resultant mass oozes downward and covers shaft walls with a vitreous crust that had been thought impenetrable.

However, experts unexpectedly detected nests of radioactive pollution at distances rather far from the explosion site both on the ground and deep down. In some cases the causes were obvious, as when the explosion took place there had now and again been breakdowns, due to which radioactive matter had streamed out.

Breakdowns of this order were recorded on Novaya Zemlya on October 14, 1969, and also at the Kraton-3 installation in Yakutia on August 2, 1987. In other cases the spewing out of radionuclides was foreseen when superfluous pressure built up in the shafts: to relieve this pressure shafts were unsealed and radioactive matter thus streamed out.

Finally, in yet other cases, as was detected for the first time at oil and gas deposits in the Astrakhan and Perm regions, the nests of radioactive pollution deep down or on the surface were secondary, implying that they had come into being several years after the actual explosions.

Secondary seepage of radionuclides indicates that the hermetic sealing of shafts was highly relative and shortlived. With the passage of time hermetic encasing was violated by cave-ins, the movement of the mass of rock and the infiltration of subterranean waters and gases, and also by transgressions

The Arctic's string of "mines"

Chart reproduced from Stern (Germany)

of mining and excavation techniques. The entire range of phenomena, known as subterranean technogenic destabilization provoked noticeable subsurface changes and compelled revision not only of the pattern for natural resources management, but also of technologies employed for processing the raw materials that were extracted within the zones of underground nuclear tests.

North of Brandt Bay

On August 1, 1986, seismologists recorded on Novaya Zemlya a medium-force earthquake at a depth of but three kilometres roughly 30 kilometres south of the Matochkin Shar strait and north of the Brandt Bay, relatively nearby one of the testing sites, but at a time when no explosions were being detonated. Such near-surface tremours had not been recorded here before.

In the Arctic seismologists had sought exclusively to detect clandestine nuclear testing by the opposite side or to camouflage our own nuclear tests. The chain of seismological stations here, used exclusively for military purposes, never bothered to record relatively weak subterranean, post-explosion tremours. Recent discussions at the Institute of Geosphere Dynamics indicated though that given even so imperfect a system of observation, signs of abnormal subterranean activity had been recorded in the neighbourhood of the Novaya Zemlya testing sites. Incidentally, in 1986-87 ten relatively shallow earthquakes were recorded within the area of the three nuclear explosions in the Kola Peninsula, which has a much better network of seismological stations. These tremours were quite plainly the result of the technogenic consequences of testing.

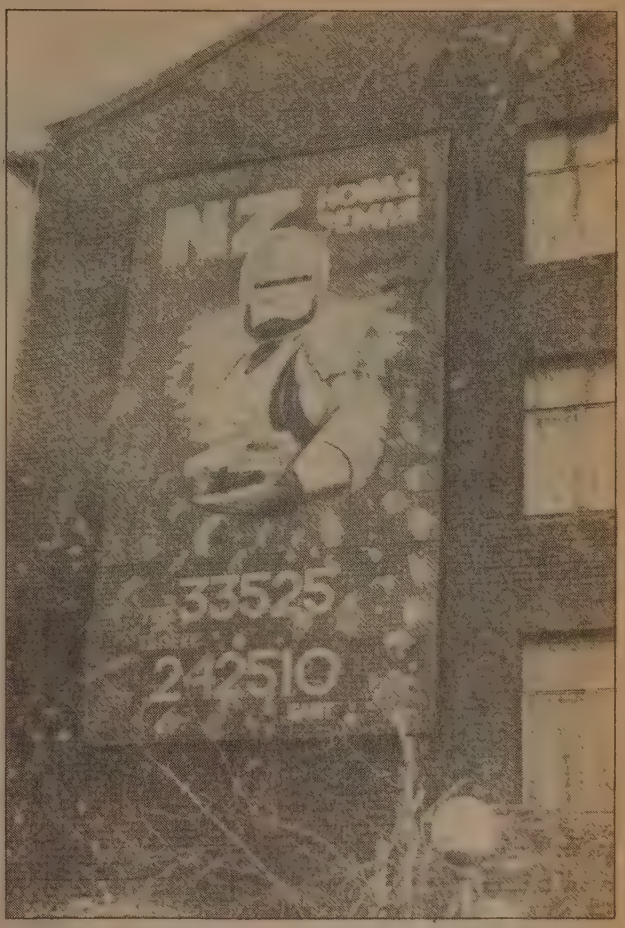
To sum up, if the Novaya Zemlya Archipelago is seismic, the choice of a nuclear testing site here is scarecely happy. Specialists from the Sevmorgeologia agency with perennial experience in Novaya Zemlya subterranean research are still more categoric. In their view, it is "absolutely obvious that as it is a region of folds, with numerous breaks in solid rock formation, the Novaya Zemlya region is totally unsuited for subterranean nuclear testing."

Could the 1986 earthquake have been provoked by perennial subterranean destabilization brought on by nuclear testing?

Geology committee vs. admirals

The indigenous population of Novaya Zemlya, led by the legendary Vylko clan, settled here in 1869 and successfully engaged in fur trapping, fishing and berry gathering. However, in 1954 to ensure secrecy, the indigenous population was removed. Novaya Zemlya's biological rhythm was to be subject to combat and political training or to be coordinated with visits by army VIPs for inspection during hunting and red-fish spawning seasons.

It must be noted that Novaya Zemlya's ecosystems are extremely young and easily upset. Population of this territory proceeded, as the last glaciation period receded (glaciation is still observed on Novaya Zemlya's Northern Island). The inadequate warmth, permafrost, drastic seasonal climatic and biological changes, all call for delicate anthropogenic interaction.



Of late Arkhangelsk businessmen have drawn upon Novaya Zemlya's sinister image to advertise *Photo by O. Vishnyakov*

Large deposits of manganese, polymetallic ores, gold, rock crystal and agate, as well as anhydrite gypsums, chrysolite asbestos and iron have been discovered on Novaya Zemlya. Experts claim the presence of rich deposits of crude carbohydrate materials in the form natural gas crystallohydrates, a very peculiar species of raw material, the technology for whose extraction has thus far not been mastered.

The Russian Geology Committee and the authorities of Arkhangelsk region have rolled up their sleeves, but will they be able to cope with the admirals? Indeed, they will need not only to overcome the obstacles of secrecy and the quite natural resistance of the military, but also the profound failure to understand that by subverting Russia's economic potential, the military-industrial complex is thus subverting her defences, or, in other words, is fouling its own nest.

This last summer, with other experts I planned to conduct geological observations on Novaya Zemlya. I submitted the required plan. The army command showed interest but nevertheless kept me out. Consequently, as I have no weighty proof on hand, I am obliged to invoke the authority of Mikhail Lomonosov, the *moujik*-savant from Arkhangelsk, who did so much to advance Russia.

At a public gathering of the Academy of Sciences in 1757 Lomonosov presented a report on the earth-quaked birth of metals, wherein for the first time he told the world about those "nonsensed tremours" whose impact is not immediate. In conclusion the savant declared: "Look at your blessed Fatherland and compare it to other lands... We do not suffer from frequent earthquakes that we hardly hear about, and **enjoy the inner peace of the subterranean and of all of society**. How blessed is Russia in having such qualities!"

Boris Golubov

Alexander Ishkov, the newly appointed head of the Moscow Committee for the Protection of Nature, believes that Muscovites's poor knowledge on the state of air and water in their city turns their life into gradual unconscious suicide.

Ishkov, 44, doctor of chemistry and the State Prize winner, worked till recently as head of the research centre for emergencies at the Committee for Sanitary and Epidemic Inspection of Russia.

Contrary to public opinion, Ishkov is not inclined to pay much attention to the amount of radiation we live with. He believes that excessive concentration on the level of radiation, due to fear of consequences from the Chernobyl tragedy, diverts public attention from more dangerous factors harming the environment and directly the individual. In his opinion the greatest danger comes from "immunodepressants," the substances which accumulate in the body of the individual throughout his life and destroy his immune system. Among them he singles out DDT and chlorine-containing pesticides which form in the process of combustion, the burning of garbage. Nevertheless, measurements on the concentration of these substances in the environment are practically not conducted in Russia. There are only a few laboratories for research of this kind, and measurements are very expensive.

In the protection of the environment Ishkov counts on economic and moral factors. Violation of environmental protection legislation should be ruinous for a given enterprise or company, Ishkov says, while people who pollute the environment should realize that poison will eventually gets into their bodies and that their children also breathe the poisoned air. If that is understood the situation can change. Besides, Ishkov counts on the establishment of a special ecological fund. In his opinion no less than a billion rubles is needed to make the atmosphere in Moscow harmless to its citizens.

■■■

Mikhail Kalashnikov, who designed a world famous gun, believes that newspapers distort facts in writing about him. Therefore he vowed to keep silent and have no more contacts with the press, however authoritative a periodical may be. Kalashnikov is chief designer of the Izhevsk Engineering Works. For his inventions he was twice awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour and the Stalin and Lenin prizes. Six times he was elected a People's Deputy of the USSR.

Kalashnikov is implacable in his decision, though his friends, relatives and neighbours say he is a rather kind man. For instance, American gun-makers recently sent humanitarian aid to their Russian colleague. Mikhail distributed the aid, giving half of it to the Children's Fund and the rest to gunsmiths now on pension.

Russia earns billions of dollars from the export of Kalashnikov guns while the designer receives only his wage. However, he does not demand more. Mikhail has two daughters, Nelli and Lena, son, Victor, who is also a designer of arms (see photo), five grandsons, and one great-granddaughter.

It seems he is going to break his vow to have no contacts with the press. The Voyenizdat (military publishing house) will soon bring out his *Notes of a Gun Designer.*

■■■

Anatoly Adamishin, a career diplomat, has been appointed First Deputy of the Foreign Minister of Russia. Thirty-five years ago, after the 20th Party Congress, he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and was offered a job in the Foreign

777 expands its business

A former merchant skipper, **Anvar Valiev** did not spend his life at sea for nothing. Believing in good omens he decided to name his company 777, a number that brings the utmost luck according to ancient Egyptian beliefs.

Just several months after its official registration, the company has managed to acquire a strong position in Moscow business circles.

As a Moscow partner of the German company Volkswagon, Valiev began expanding his business immmediately, and that doesn't just mean in terms of sales figures (dozens of new cars of various maked – VW, Audi, Mercedes, etc.). The company was also the first in Russia to provide a full package of customer services, from pre-sale test drives to car insurance via the joint-stock company ASKO.

Speaking of money 777's cars are priced at about 17 percent below those in other world markets, an impressive achievement considering the company provides for a complete adaptation to Russia's notoriously bad roads.

Valiev is sure that the Audis he sells can successfully compete with Volvo, famous though it may be. 777's cars are less expensive and more powerful by far.

The company is about to become the official Volkswagon dealer in the Commonwealth of Independent States. With the help of Technobank, the firm is opening service centres in St.Petersburg, Pyatigorsk, Murmansk, and even the distant Siberian town of Ust-Ilimsk.

What interest does Valiev have in Siberia? The answer is very simple – oil. In Ust-Ilimsk, the very heart of the Russian oil Eldorado, Valiev has decided to invest in the reactivation of abandoned wells and the development of new oil fields. Another of Valiev's Siberian investment projects the quarrying and cutting of emeralds, may result in the production of jewelry with this mysterious "gem of wisdom."

In short, it seems that in reality the company 777 is successful not because of the lucky number but thanks to the energy and dynamic approach of its boss, Anvar Valiev.

Ministry. Since then he has been in the diplomatic service.

Adamishin has made a successful career. Two years after he came to work in the Foreign Ministry he was sent to the Soviet embassy in Italy and returned to Moscow in 1965. For many years he worked in the central office of the Ministry. In 1973, Adamishin was appointed head of the First European Department, one of the most prestigious in the Ministry. In the years of *perestroika* he became Deputy Foreign Minister and head of the Soviet Union's UNESCO Commission. In 1990, he went to Italy as Ambassador. From there he watched the stormy events of August 1991, the breakdown of the USSR, the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the removal of President Gorbachev from power.

Anatoly Adamishin took the post of Fyodor Shelov-Kovediayev, a leader of the Democratic Russia movement but not much of a diplomat and official. His field of work – relations with former republics of the USSR and the position of the Russian-speaking population there – was recently almost made the main target of criticism by various political forces. Adamishin's return to a responsible post in the Foreign Ministry and other appointments in the summer and autumn of 1992 allow many observers to conclude that a new stage began in the foreign policy of the Yeltsin-Gaidar government.

■■■

Is it easy for an editor-in-chief to be simultaneoulsy president of another organization? **Artyom Borovik,** Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Sovershenno Sekretno* (Top Secret), has become president of the recently founded Association of Independent Writers and Journalists called Investigation.

A son of Genrikh Borovik, a journalist and playwright, a graduate of the prestigious Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and a staff member of the foreign new department in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (Soviet Russia). It was not the best reference in the years of *perestroika*. But Artyom made a name for himself earlier, in 1987, when he published his documentary story about Afghanistan.

It was the first frank and realistic story about the Afghan war, then little known about by society. Borovik learned about this war not from accounts in the army staff but by taking part in hostilities, for which he was awarded a medal. But the Afghan story brought him real success. It was widely translated abroad and published in the American magazine *Life*.

Equally successful was Artyom Borovik's next story about Afghanistan, entitled "The Hidden War."

Artyom Borovik became Editor-in-Chief of *Sovershenno Sekretno* when he was quite a young man. It is almost the only newspaper in Russia whose circulation steadily increases.

Cossacks anxious to have a say

"Russia could lose much which is irretrievable if the government does not revise its attitude to the Cossacks in time," said **Pyotr Fedosov,** head *(ataman)* of the Union of Cossacks in the Stavropol Region. He was born in the same region in 1937 into a family of hereditary Cossacks. His great grandfather fought in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, his grandfather served in the convoy of His Majesty while his father was killed in battle during the war against Nazi Germany. A geophysicist by profession, Pyotr Fedosov graduated from the Grozny Oil Institute, worked as a teacher, in geological prospecting teams, and in the Stavropol Oil and Geophysics Association. At a general meeting of Stavropol Cossacks in 1990 he was elected ataman of their regional union. He is married and has a son and daughter. He has an unusual hobby (cooking), and extensively studies the history of Russia, especially of the Kuban Cossack Army. The study of the customs and traditions of Cossacks has made Pyotr an ardent champion of their way of life.

Fedosov is convinced that Soviets, as bodies of authority, have proved invalid and that the ataman rule should be introduced in Cossack villages. This does not run counter to democracy, for the ataman has always been elected by people who know him from his childhood. Fedosov believes, however, that the ataman rule should be introducted gradually, only with the consent of the population. He is against private ownership of land, preferring communal land tenure as more appropriate to the Cossack customs. In his opinion, communal land tenure is as the root of the cossack moral code.

Fesodov believes that the Cossack movement has matured and it follows that government authorities should reckon with it. Cossack departments should be set up at local government bodies. One of their tasks will to reinstate Cossacks in their historical role as defenders of the homeland. The army can have Cossacks units consisting of draftees from one and the same village or district. All this would help to raise the discipline and fighting spirit of Russian troops and improve the atmosphere in the army.

In the opinion of Fedosov unlike other sections of the population, the Cossacks have preserved the spiritual potential of the great Russian people whose traditions have been relentlessly destroyed over the last 70-odd years. They represent a healthy segment of the people who resist Russia's destruction, disolation and sinking into oblivion.

Begging as a popular craft

Every day 10 thousand people come out from the Moscow gutter to "bomb" passers-by. This is how the beggars themselves speak of it in their professional jargon, the rest of us simply call it begging...

In the Middle Ages, a beggar caught three times on Paris streets was branded on his forehead. In England, under the statute by King Edward VI, a person caught for begging was given as a slave to the one who turned him in to the authorities, for a two-year period, and the letter "V" (vagabond) being branded on his chest.

In Russia, beggars were considered "God's people" and were eagerly given alms.

The first attempts to cloud their bright future were made by Peter the Great. In his instructions to the chief of Moscow police, he showed no lenience even towards women and children: "Beggar-women are to be put in prison and children are to be flogged and sent to fulling-mills or other factories." According to documents of the time, a certain Ivan Stolyarov who begged for alms near a church was "mercilessly beaten with cat-o'-nine-tails."

Even almighty Peter, however, was forced to make a concession. The owner of a "begging certificate" was authorized to beg for a given period of time, after which he was obliged to find a job.

In Christ's name, brother, can you spare some rubles to buy a new car

By 1900 there were over 300 thousand beggars of all ages, including the holy fools and cripples, in the Russian Empire. Their ranks were replenished by illegitimate children, impoverished peasants, city-dwellers and even merchants. And, of course, there were professional beggars, i.e. those who didn't want to change their way of life after three years of begging. The Pensa (Russian town) governor calculated that out of a hundred beggars in his province 60 to 70 were "pros," to use the current term.

Begging took many forms: some women begged with an allegedly sick child in their arms, whose role at times was played by a mere log wrapped in rags; some begged for money to bury a child (they walked along the streets with a small coffin in their arms), or for a poor bride's dowry, for medical expenses, to buy a horse so as not to have to steal one, or on a return ticket. There were cripples and blind ones, those who had suf-

fered for truth, bankrupt tradesmen turned drunkards, students and God knows what.

Modern beggars have adopted some of their predecessors' experience, rejecting the rest: it would be strange to see a beggar with a coffin in his hands or with a sign reading "Alms for stolen car."

Elected fools

The beggars were supervised by innkeepers who, naturally, had their share of the profits. The so called "contractors" filled job slots from peasant families who had come to cities in search of work.

The St. Petersburg taxmen had their own deal worked out with the contractors. Thanks to their social position, they were the first to know who had died, who was going to marry and who was to be congratulated by the begging brotherhood on their name day. Beggars paid the taxman 10 to 40 kopecks for a place at forthcoming ceremonies.

The secrets of some well-known Moscow beggars were disclosed by Ivan Pryzhov in his book "26 Moscow false-prophets, false holy fools and common fools."

...A "holy fool," Maria, from the village of Busin, near Moscow, digged a cave to a buried holy icon. Actually, there was no icon at all; the girl was forced to dig by the villigers who thrived on pilgrimages. They refused to share their take with her, and she disclosed the fraud. The girl was sent to a nunnery, and the villagers had to spend all the money made on bribes to avoid penal servitude.

Ivan Koreisha was another kind of case, he probably had certain powers as a psychotherapeutist. Having embezzled public money, he decided to become "a holy fool." His reputation snowballed in Moscow. Many Moscow noblemen never undertook anything, from marrying to money matters, without Koreisha's advice. His prophesies came true, but the most impressive were Ivan Koreisha's "magic" items. It was enough to just place them on the ailing part of the body, and relief was soon to come. After his death nuns of the Convent of St. Alexei and his well-off female devotees broke chips off his coffin, and even the sand which covered his prior death excriments was sold at exorbitant prices.

In the poorest parts of Moscow and St. Petersburg parents leased their children to beggars for a starting price of 80 kopecks, the most homely ones bringing in up to 2 rubles. Sometimes children were purposefully maimed: "Little children are stolen from the streets, their hands and legs are broken so that their crippled bodies may be exposed to passers-by who then give more alms out of mercy and compassion..." wrote Tsar Fyodor in 1682. Articles 49–51 of the Russian Penal Code of 1883 prohibited child begging, but nothing changed in reality.

More legends were spread about the riches of beggars than about those of millionaires. Thus I.Pryzhov wrote that a crafty gentleman from St. Petersburg married a woman-beggar who lived in cemetery and received a 20-thousand-ruble dowry...

...I had the chance to get acquainted with a group of homeless people living in the waiting-room of the Paveletsky railway station in Moscow. It was made up of five women with children and three men. There are about 60 beggars permanenly living at the station. They are organized into small groups – life is easier and "merrier" with company. The most respected couples are referred to as "mum" and "dad." Beggars' lives are devoid of privacy, though they manage at times to find a secluded place somewhere in a basement or an abandoned building. As a result, sick children are born in the nearest maternity hospital.

Where do beggars migrate?

Beggars have no family budget, though they pool their resources to buy vodka. They readily lend each other small sums, because a great number of debtors is a guarantee of financial stability. If you go on "sick-leave," your debtor will come through.

Their "workday" starts at 5 a.m. Begging near one's place of residence is avoided. It' necessary to occupy a good spot before the rush hour and the arrival of competitors. Each has a number of haunts, changing them depending on weather and the day of the week, to avoid becoming a part of the architecture. Before religious holidays they migrate to churches; on Sundays, to the Red Square and in summer, to railway stations.

At the charitable canteen near the Paveletsky railway station there's a plate of soup for all

Apart from begging for alms, there are also other ways of surviving. One can gather empty bottles, pilfer (pilfering constitutes 10 percent of crimes at railway stations), pick and eat the leftovers in the railway station cafeteria. Those digrated and ill lick the dishes. I happened to be an eye-witness to a fight between two drunken women over a picked chicken bone.

Competition is a beggar's plague. There are more and more beggars and more distrust to them. Beggars themselves try to reduce competition to zero. Rivals practically never "bomb" the same local train. Both the beggars and the police know where each "bomber's" place is. Is Moscow devided betwen clans? Who are their leaders? How much do the rank-and-file pay them? Hardly anyone will risk unveiling these mysteries...

According to observations by the police, today the greatest commercial success is among those men and women with children who claim to have lost their homes. A detailed woeful tale matches their

appearance. Sometimes they even manage to make the police weep... Each beggar has a number of tales – one for each "workplace."

The workday has no limited duration – from a few hours to all day and night. Daily income may reach 5 thousand rubles. Easy money is easily spent. By the evening beggars huddle together for the night. Vodka and baby nutrition for infants is bought at the nearest stand. Children of more advanced age get their meals in railway cafeterias.

Begging is hazardous to your health

It may seem that Moscow beggars are recondite frauds and that their life is easy and carefree, but this is not the case. They warn, and they can be trusted in this, that begging is hazardous to your health and destructive to one's personality. After criminal prosecution for begging was abolished, even the police lost all interest in them.

Drinking is the only way to endure standing hours on in cold underground street crossings. Alcoholism has become the curse of the trade. They are also tormented by colds, stomach and skin diseases and lice. I was shown a half-a-year-old girl who had never been washed. I've also seen other children born at railway stations. At the age of two they hardly walk, know only a couple of words like "whore" (as their parents call their elder sisters) by three and four they become experts in the nuances of obscene language and know the alms business inside out.

Dirt is the indispensable tool of the trade. In America a poor Negro may be given alms even if he dons blue jeans and a leather jacket; our beggar has to be crippled, dirty and lice infested. He also must be a good actor: the more convincing his performance, the more he will receive. A beggar sells his dirt, sores and his heart-wrenching life-story. The more he is given and the more are charitable soup kitchens and parcels with aid, the more people want to play this role...

According to the data supplied by the centre for political and legal research Interlegal, 155 charitable institutions were registered in Moscow by June 1, 1992, including 70 funds, 15 societies, 29 associations, 12 unions, 5 pools, 2 confederations, 7 centres, 1 community, 5 brotherhoods, 2 committees, 1 commission, 1 conference, 2 movements and 2 branches.

The state encourages creating free canteens, believing that the problem of the poor will thus be solved. However, leaving a charitable diner, beggars don't hit the help-wanted ads, instead they rush directly to the churh entrance where they earn more in one day than the average monthly income.

What these quite well-off people need much more is psychological support, a more or less strong incentive to work and special machine-tools and factories for disabled.

The problem won't be solved by methods now in use. Charity, as well as humanitarian aid, can be seen as a large bowl, which feeds not only those who really need it. If it's removed, the personnel of foundations and those engaged in delivering, distributing, sending, dispatching, etc., will lose their jobs... The existing state of affairs is so suitable to both sides that it's worth being officially legalized. A gentleman's agreement could oblige beggars to show off their sores to Western philanthropists at first request, and oblige their Russian benefactors, to let them get the remnants of humanitarian aid.

Alexei Kudenko

Photos by the author

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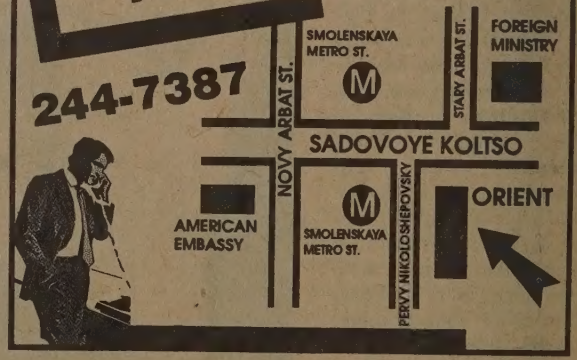

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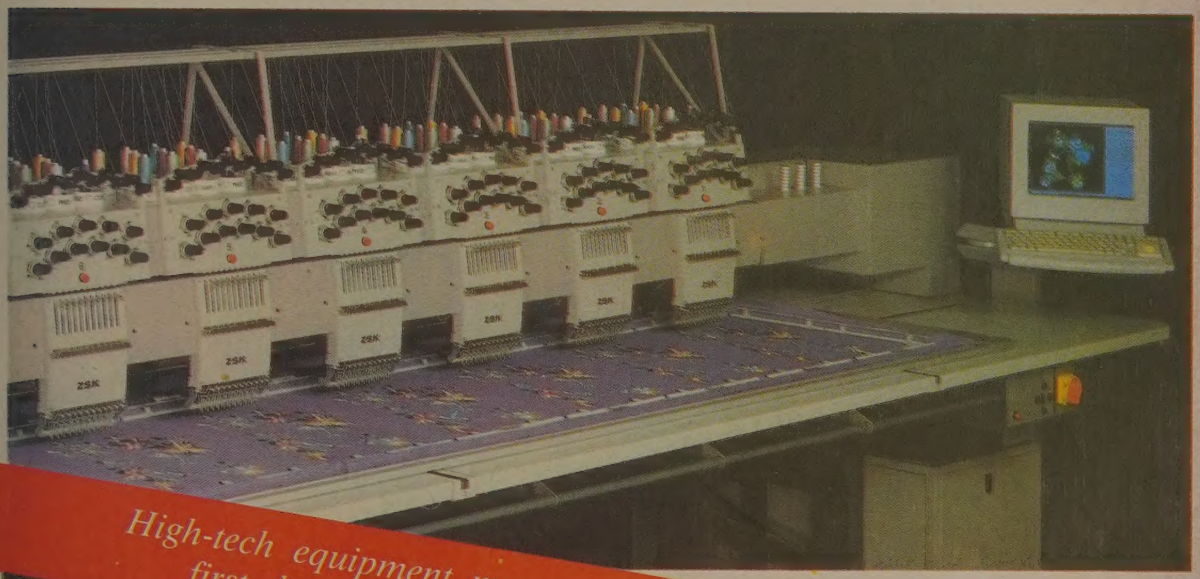

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